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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE SOCIOLOGIST'S USE OF ANTHROPOLOGY*

ADOLPH S. TOMARS
College of the City of New York

Increasing use of anthropology by sociologists calls for appraisal of the gains accruing. Some of the grounds asserted for utilization of anthropological materials are examined. Do such uses raise more problems than they solve? Which uses of primitive data are sociologically helpful; which doubtful? Do anthropological concepts and methods have superior validity? Might the reputability of anthropological materials rest, in part, upon extraneous considerations?

IN RECENT years there seems to have been developing a growing rapprochement between sociology and anthropology. Sociologists have been making increasing use of anthropological materials, terms and methods in their researches; anthropological readings have come to play an increasing role in sociology courses, and even sociology texts have revealed this influence, in some recent texts to such an extent that it is difficult to determine offhand whether they are texts in sociology or anthropology. From the sociological standpoint all this betokens a growing belief in the importance of anthropology for contributions to sociology.

The present writer is not an anthropologist and claims no competence in that field. He is, however, a sociologist and teacher of sociology, and as such it seems worth while to raise some questions as to the ways in

which anthropology is useful to sociology, the teaching of sociology and sociological research. First it may be well to define anthropology at least as one sociologist understands it. It is difficult to take very seriously the literal definition of anthropology as the science of man. This would take in all the social sciences and all the humanities as well as much of biology. Even with physical anthropology removed as a biological science, social anthropology as the science of human achievement is still a large order. One remembers that sociology also began as the science of society, taking in the whole social order—a fact that did not endear it to the older established disciplines. The best tradition of sociological theory has gradually abandoned these grandiose claims largely by redefining society in more specific terms, not as everything that happens in society but as the specifically social element in human life, focusing around the structure of social relationships and social groups. The writer is not aware of any similar theoretical narrowing of the definition of anthropology,

*Based upon a paper read before the Eastern Sociological Society, Section on Social Anthropology and Sociology, Asbury Park, New Jersey, April 27, 1940.

but in practice such a limitation has taken place. If we take a functional definition, describing anthropology not in terms of its verbal definition but in terms of what anthropologists actually do, we find that anthropology is largely the study of primitive peoples and their cultures. This study seems to occupy the major share of anthropological research and the major space in anthropological texts. Whatever anthropologists may think of the theoretical place of the study of primitives in anthropology, actually this study occupies the central position. There are obvious practical reasons why this should be so. Primitive societies are rapidly disappearing and the time is short to gather in important human data before they are lost. It is, then, fair to say that for some time now and for a considerable time in the future this task will constitute the major subject matter for anthropology.

Our central issue then comes down to this question: in what ways can the study of primitive societies help sociology better to understand the nature of society in general? In answer to this question three possible ways have frequently been adduced or implied, based respectively upon considerations of priority, simplicity and objectivity. It may be instructive to examine briefly these three possibilities and to raise questions about the assumptions that underly them.

(1) Let us consider the first possibility which rests upon the idea of priority. Since the primitive people studied by anthropologists are our contemporaries, the priority cannot be temporal but must be of a different kind, and obviously implies an evolutionary assumption. This derives from a view of social evolution which regards modern complex societies as growths from simpler forms in the past. The primitive societies now extant are then regarded as being similar to earlier forms of "advanced" civilization, and therefore their study sheds light upon the question of social origins and the development of later from earlier social forms.

There are numerous objections to such a use of primitive cultures and these have been pointed out most forcefully by contemporary anthropologists. We are told that we cannot offhand assume that primitive groups repre-

sent earlier stages of social evolution; we must first prove that primitive people are really primitive. Yet it should be obvious that such a proof cannot be derived from the study of contemporary primitives but only from the study of the history and archaeology of "advanced" civilizations. Only after the nature and course of social evolution has been established can we then proceed to the question: to what degree do the extant primitives reveal similarity to our social ancestors? Only then can their study be significant in the light of the origin and development of society, and their places assigned in the course of social development. As a matter of fact, even in this cautious use some anthropologists seem to have burned their bridges behind them by denying the reality of any social evolution in their eagerness to get away from the older theories of unilineal evolution. This writer, for one, is by no means certain that social evolution is as dead as certain anthropologists assure us, but it is certain that the older evolutionary formulations have been knocked to smithereens. Until other formulations are established, the use of anthropological data on the grounds of priority is, to say the least, premature.

It is important to note that this use of anthropology has introduced much confusion, and any teacher of sociology can testify to its confusing effect upon students. This confusion is apparent in many sociology texts and especially in the history texts, i.e., the modern ones where it has been aided and abetted by the sociologists. The older history texts were free from this confusion since they began history with Egypt or Sumeria. The real difficulty is introduced in the most modern texts. We may take, as an example, the opening chapters of a well known text in sociology written by a group of specialists.¹ These chapters constitute an excellent summary of human history by a distinguished sociologist who is also a historian, and whose historical texts are representative of the newest "synthetic" history. The opening chapter goes as far back as the history of the

¹ Barnes and Davis, *Introduction to Sociology*, Heath and Company, New York, 1931.

² For Problems

cosmos, à la H. G. Wells. There follows the now usual chapter on early man, the human family tree, Pithecanthropus, Neanderthal, Pilttdown, Cro-Magnon and other types, replete with descriptions of their bones and other remains. Then comes a new chapter on primitive institutions; a discussion of primitive man's religion, family life, political life, mythology, magic and social organization in general. Needless to say, all these data are derived from the anthropologist's study of contemporary primitives, but there is not so much as a footnote to indicate this or state the underlying assumption. Consequently, the student is left with the impression of having all this bona fide information about the practices and beliefs of the prehistoric men whose bones were described in the previous chapter.

If the historians have encouraged this confusion, they have only taken their cue from the sociologists. The illustration cited was from a sociologist-historian. Numerous illustrations from sociology texts could be added.² Finally, anthropologists themselves have not always helped to clarify matters. Numerous statements by anthropologists could be adduced in which they are not careful about mixing their past and present tenses. Indeed, an excellent text in anthropology by a distinguished anthropologist, who has been especially active in opposing evolutionism, bears the title *Early Civilization!*

It is apparent that the core of the difficulty lies in the term "primitive" which carries the implication of priority, and in the confusion of primitive people with prehistoric people, since the early students of these tribes were ready to assume *a priori* that they represented retarded stages of social evolution. So far as this observer can gather we know precious little of the culture of prehistoric man apart from conjecture. In some cases we are hardly able to reconstruct his physical appearance from his scant remains. In others we can make some inferences from his implements and other remains. But concerning prehistoric men's religious beliefs, lan-

guage, family life, political system, their thoughts and customs, in short, the specific nature and content of their social organization, we know practically nothing and probably never will know, since we have no Rosetta Stone to unlock the mysteries of non-literate peoples. It is, of course, quite possible that prehistoric life was similar to the life of contemporary primitives; but if so, to *which* primitives, since the range of variation is so great? Moreover, since "pre-historic man" also covers many groups, it is probable that as many different and unknown kinds of variations existed then.

Anthropologists are obviously aware of the confusing nature of the term "primitive" as evidenced by the introduction of substitute terms. Increasingly often we find them using the term "pre-literate peoples." This is also an unsatisfactory selection of a term. The words "pre-literate" seems to imply that these peoples are about to become literate or would eventually do so. "Non-literate" would be non-question begging and therefore much better. Another term which has achieved some currency is the term "simpler peoples," although even this might amuse the beginning student of anthropology who is trying to understand the intricacies of the classificatory system or the advanced student attempting to master the subtleties of a primitive language.

(2) This brings us to the second way in which primitive data may be useful to sociology, the one which rests upon the consideration of simplicity in so far as it facilitates ease in teaching sociological principles. This use implies the idea that, if in the modern world we find both simple cultures (like the primitives) and highly complex cultures (such as our own), should we not arrive at a better understanding of the complex cultures and of society in general by studying first the simpler forms? On first thought it would seem entirely reasonable to believe that the best way to go about comprehending any structure is to begin by analyzing the simplest specimens. Indeed, the perception that even the simplest civilizations are *civilizations* and have the basic elements of a society is a salutary corrective for the ethnocentrism which identifies complexity with

²For a very recent example see N. L. Sims, *The Problem of Social Change*, Crowell, New York, 1939.

progress and with civilization itself. But beyond this, the use of primitive materials for sociological research on the basis of simplicity raises some perplexing questions.

There would be no problem if we could regard primitive societies as of the same level of development as our own, but merely smaller and simpler in scale. But if we regard primitive societies as being less highly evolved, less differentiated; in other words, if we find that primitive societies are in some sense really primitive or relatively primitive, then their very simplicity ceases to be an advantage and begins to raise vexatious difficulties of analysis. Simplicity and complexity are difficult terms. From certain points of view primitives are more complex when compared to ourselves, from other points of view they are simpler. In the case for priority the difficulty lay in the non-permissibility to assume evolutionary sequences; in the case for simplicity we face an opposite difficulty—the inability to ignore evolutionary differences. Laying aside all considerations of evolution as an historical process, the fact seems incontestable that some societies are structurally and functionally more highly developed than others, in this sense more highly evolved, irrespective of how they came to be that way. Primitive societies are certainly much less evolved in their social structure with respect to the number and variety of differentiated social groups and institutions. They do reveal a simpler social structure than is found in the complex integration of multiple groups and institutions in the great historic societies, and this creates a serious problem for the use of primitive data in sociology. Let us see why this is so, remembering the ultimate aim of sociological research.

The writer holds it to be axiomatic that the essential goal of sociological investigation is to seek the causation of social phenomena. We may not completely discover causation, but we may at least discover the various causal factors involved and something of the way in which they are interrelated. Essentially, this means investigation of the nexus of functional interrelationships between institutions. To understand an institution means to reveal the way it is affected by other institutions, to see the interplay of

causal forces between them in their functional integration. Do primitive societies provide the most suitable material for the study of this central sociological problem—the relation between institutions? Since primitive societies are societies in which different institutions are not clearly differentiated from one another, their usefulness for this purpose seems doubtful.

Two investigators of the institution of religion have put the problem thus:

Today the term *religion* implies a fairly separate department of life and distinct institutions, but to the mind of primitive man the term is foreign because what we regard as his religion is to him an essential part of his hunting, agriculture, politics, science, . . . Such considerations make the interpretation of primitive religions very difficult and tentative, for in making them intelligible to ourselves, we may be doing them such violence as to make them absurd from the primitive point of view.³

Are we not likely to be in constant danger of reading specialized characteristics and meanings from our culture into phenomena, which, in the other culture, possess no such clearly specialized significance?

When we select any set of primitive practices and label them as religious or esthetic, we are selecting them for their reference to our own institutions, not for their reference within their own culture system. We cannot well examine the relationship of art and religion, or of the state and the family, in cultures where these institutions and groups do not exist as separate systems. Indeed, it might be said that a study of the relations of institutions in the most primitive societies would be a work of supererogation. To make an exaggerated analogy, it would almost be like studying the relation between the digestive system and the reproductive system within an organism and choosing as the organism—the amoeba! This is an admitted exaggeration, for the structural difference between primitive and "advanced" societies is nowhere as great as this. It is a difference in degree of differentiation, and the degree varies among different primitives. The essential point is that the difference is there and

³ Friess, H. L. and Schneider, H. W., *Religion in Various Cultures*, Holt, New York, 1932, p. 12.

poses a problem. The conclusion is inescapable that we are in a better position to study social integration where social differentiation has proceeded far enough to give us distinct entities for integration.

A further difficulty also obtrudes itself. This is a general difficulty with respect to ethnographic materials, but applies directly here. The study of primitives has given us only a static or flat picture of a social structure. The relationships between various parts of a social structure cannot well be perceived by the static description afforded by ethnographic studies. They can best be perceived by observing the effects of changes in certain parts of the structure upon other parts through time, i.e., dynamically. Here, again, we are better served by going to the historical changes of those civilizations whose records we possess or whose past we can reconstruct. We could, of course, watch primitive groups over long periods of time, but these groups either change very slowly when isolated or disintegrate rapidly when brought into contact with highly complex cultures. It is true that this process of culture contact is important for the sociologist, and there are interesting differences in specific cases, but essentially it is a unilateral process in which the primitive culture is destined to be lost, either through outright destruction or piecemeal assimilation by the complex cultures. Again, the conclusion seems reasonable that the record of history and the observation of existing complex cultures in the future offer more suitable material for the study of social structure.

(3) A third possible basis for the use of primitive materials in sociology is that of objectivity, a consideration especially stressed by many anthropologists and sociologists. The point usually made by proponents of this idea is that it is difficult for an investigator to study his own culture objectively since he himself was brought up within it, and since it therefore represents for him not objective facts but phenomena charged with values, meanings, and significance (awareness of meanings is regarded by some as dangerous for the social scientist). He can attain a greater degree of objectivity by turning to some other society, but even here, if the society is sufficiently

similar to his own, the same values and meanings will obtrude themselves. The primitive cultures, being furthest removed from his own, present, therefore, the most suitable material for objective analysis. The practices of primitive people are so different as to call up few familiar meanings and values; their behavior can be studied as if it were the behavior of "bugs under a microscope."

Now, there is something to be said for the point that familiar phenomena, like the ticking of a clock in one's room, are often not noticed as phenomena precisely because they are so familiar. They are taken for granted and not objectively observed. But beyond this, the argument that primitive materials offer greater objectivity because of their unfamiliarity, and because they hold no values or meanings for us, becomes a doubtful argument.

In connection with this, it may be illuminating to observe just what the objective anthropologist does when he finds himself face to face with a primitive culture in all its objective strangeness. So far as this observer can gather, what we find in most cases is that he settles down to live with the tribe, he learns their language, he participates in their daily life, he tries to understand the customs of the group and to gain insight into the significance of their practices by attempting, for the time being, to become as one of them, to think and feel with them. In other words, he proceeds slowly and painfully to achieve a system of values, meanings, significances; to get back the very things that he had abjured in the culture where these things already were his, easily and spontaneously acquired as his own natural heritage. Granted certain advantages in approach, must we not conclude that the social scientist who turns to primitives as a guarantee of objectivity has merely sold his birthright for an illusion of objectivity?

Now, if by objectivity we mean freedom from bias and from ethnocentric value-judgments, then the subject of study can offer no guarantee of such freedom. Ethnocentric preconceptions about one's own culture imply evaluation of other cultures in terms of these preconceptions. This is precisely what the scientifically untrained ex-

plorer or missionary does when observing primitive cultures. The only guarantee of objectivity is in scientific training itself, in the use of logical reasoning, the willingness to test hypotheses by evidence, to check and cross-check and to work so that others may check further. The training to study phenomena within a scientific frame of reference is what reduces bias. Where it has been undergone, objective study of any subject becomes possible; where it is lacking, no materials, primitive or otherwise, can be useful in attaining objectivity.

If the validity of some of the ways in which anthropological data have been thought useful for sociology must be questioned, there also remain the obviously valid uses for such data. In the opinion of the writer, the great usefulness of anthropology for the sociologist lies in the way it has vastly expanded the range of available comparative data. To the relatively small number of existing complex societies and to the much larger number of known historic societies about which materials are available it is adding hundreds of new and hitherto unknown cultures. The value of such an addition to cultural data for comparative purposes is inestimable. It must be said, however, that the value is often only potential because the data have not been analyzed in ways that would make them useful to the sociologist. Like historical data, ethnographic data serve to check the validity of inclusive cross-cultural sociological generalizations. All sorts of sociological hypotheses can be, and already have been, invalidated by the use of these data, while on the other hand such data have also served to substantiate sociological conclusions drawn from one or only a few cultures. For example, many sociologists had long suspected on the grounds of sociological analysis and some historical data that many of the characteristics and personality traits regarded as biologically masculine or feminine were not sex-linked biological manifestations but produced by socio-cultural factors. Margaret Mead's demonstration of the variability of sexual roles among three tribes of New Guinea came as a welcome validation of these sociological inferences. From the point of view of the sociologist, Mead's work was certainly all to the good;

indeed it was such a *tour de force* that one has the feeling it was just a bit too good. The sociologist can profit immeasurably from the labors of the anthropologist. But in doing so he should also recognize the limitations of anthropological data.

Recognition of these limitations is here stressed because the writer has observed a peculiar phenomenon growing up among American sociologists. To an increasing degree these sociologists seem to be unduly impressed by anthropology. There can be no question that anthropology has attained a scientific prestige and respectability that sociology, for all its efforts, has been unable to achieve. Anthropology has been generally accorded the status of a science and anthropologists readily accepted into the fraternity of scientists, while sociology and sociologists have been only grudgingly accepted with reservations. This fact has not failed to impress the sociologist. He seems to wonder if the anthropologist may not have developed superior scientific methods and concepts, and consequently he seems impelled to utilize anthropological data as having some special superiority over the kinds of data sociology has normally tended to use. For this reason, it seems important to remember the limitations of ethnographic data.

Anthropological materials are contemporary materials, as much so as the materials afforded by our own culture. Consequently, they have the limitations of any contemporary data and, in addition, some peculiar limitations of their own. No elaborate discussion of specific anthropological methods is intended here, nor is the writer competent to discuss them. However, some of the weaknesses and limitations inherent in the use of ethnographic data, as opposed to historical data or even to data from contemporary "advanced" cultures, have been pointed out by Howard Becker in his discussion of the advantages of historical sociology.⁴ They include the factor of unreliability introduced when "document" and "interpretation" derive from or through the same person so that description and analysis

⁴Howard Becker, "The Field and Problems of Historical Sociology," in Bernard, L. L., *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, Long and Smith, New York, 1934.

tend to coincide, and the language obstacles that make it difficult for any considerable number of ethnographers to check the work done by any one investigator. How many anthropologists, one wonders, are in a position to check Mead's work on sex and temperament? Becker also stresses the advantage of historical data in being susceptible of being checked by various auxiliary historical disciplines, including paleography, numismatics, semantics, and others. This point is important, because it indicates not only a limitation in the use of ethnographic data as compared with the use of historical materials, but equally as compared with the use of materials from contemporary complex cultures. One of the peculiar virtues of historiography is that often the farther we get from events the greater may our scientific understanding of them become. We should be comforted to think that the data we now gather will become more meaningful in the future. Thus, the present events in Europe may be bewildering to even the wisest among us, but we can be certain that ten years from now we will know more about them and seventy-five years from now we shall understand them even better. For, we will then be able to set them in the continuity of social processes occurring up to the present and beyond the present. This future clarification is not available for primitive materials. From this standpoint it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that primitive people are without a past, and that, as primitive people, they have no future. It is not difficult to understand why some anthropologists have taken a position of extreme historicism, for in this sense primitive cultures, in the short period between their discovery as scientific data and their disappearance, will be but a moment in the span of recorded history.

From this writer's limited knowledge it seems doubtful if anthropology possesses any scientific methods or procedures unknown to sociologists. Certainly, where sociologists have taken over anthropological methods and concepts, or what they have understood to be such, the advantages accruing have been dubious. For instance, it is difficult to see just what the Lynds gained by terming their *Middletown* a "venture in contemporary

anthropology," and, as they put it, an attempt "to gain precisely that degree of objectivity and perspective with which we view 'savage' peoples."⁵ Objectivity, as has been suggested, is a matter of mental habit and empirico-rational procedure, and perspective is attained by selecting and interpreting data according to some scientific frame of reference. It is precisely such procedure that makes the trained anthropologist the superior of the scientifically untrained explorer. Would it not be just as reasonable to call a tribal study a "venture in primitive sociology"? All social science worthy of the name seeks the utmost possible objectivity and perspective by the use of the conceptual and methodological instruments at its command, and seeks continually to refine those instruments. Yet, in the foreword to *Middletown*, Clark Wissler states:

It (anthropology) achieves a large measure of objectivity because anthropologists are by the nature of the case "outsiders" . . . the authors have made a serious attempt by approaching an American community as an anthropologist does a primitive tribe. It is in this that the contribution lies, an experiment not only in methods, but in a new field, the social anthropology of contemporary life.⁶

We may point out, incidentally, that in so far as *Middletown* was a representative American city and the investigators also Americans, they were really not outsiders. However, in so far as they were sophisticated "big city" sociologists, they certainly *came as outsiders*; but it is equally true that they spent the next seventeen months *becoming insiders*.⁷ With respect to the use of anthropological methods in this study, the nearest thing this observer can find is the use of the six types of key activities in studying the community. The authors refer to this as a "methodological expedient," indicating its identity with

⁵ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1929, "Introduction," p. 5.

⁶ Lynd and Lynd, opus cit. Foreword, p. vi.

⁷ In the appendix on method the first among the various techniques listed is "participation in the local life" with the remark: "in this way a large measure of spontaneity was obtained and the 'bug on a pin' aspect reduced." Yet was not this aspect precisely the much vaunted objective anthropological approach that was to make the study a new methodological venture?

Rivers' six-fold classification, and similarity in type to Wissler's nine-fold classification.⁸ Obviously no community study could be undertaken without some categories for analyzing group activities. Sociological theory has long been engaged upon working out social categories, and even if institutional analysis has not advanced much beyond the traditional division of institutions, at least group analysis has gone far in the direction of formulating sociological categories. But to call such a rough and crude common-sense division of activities—getting a living, making a home, training the young, etc.—a methodological expedient derived from anthropology, seems hardly fair to the methodology of sociology, nor for that matter, to that of anthropology, either.

Similar doubts could be entertained concerning the usefulness of other anthropological concepts which have come into the writer's observation as concepts taken over by sociologists. Thus, there is some doubt whether the terms *culture trait* and *culture complex* possess any manifest superiority over the analogous sociological terms *social custom* and *social institution*. If anything, the anthropological concepts seem by far the more "vague" and "loose," whereas certain sociologists have used and defined the latter with considerable precision. Or, again, one may doubt the usefulness of the distinction between material and non-material traits, a distinction to which some anthropologists have attached much importance.⁹ Unless anthropological concepts are definitely superior to sociological concepts for *sociological purposes*, there seems no reason why the sociologist should use them.

One may suspect that the prestige and respectability attained by anthropology as a science rests upon quite other grounds than those of any superior scientific validity in concepts and methods. It may be worthwhile to voice these suspicions. One factor that

seems to play a role is the exotic nature of the materials the anthropologist deals with. Undoubtedly primitive tribes as a subject for study possess a powerful fascination not held by the more prosaic materials studied by the sociologist. Field work is always more appealing than desk work, and while it is true that sociologists also do field work, it is seldom of such a kind as to capture the public imagination. Certainly, not as compared to the work of the anthropologist who sallies out to remote corners of the world, to tropical isles and jungle forests to study and live with savages, perhaps even cannibals! The anthropologist shares the romantic appeal of the explorer and trail blazer. He is a glamorous figure among the social scientists. The return of an anthropologist from a field trip is an occasion for newspaper notices, and the prestige of a science is not unrelated to romantic publicity.

Another factor making for scientific as well as glamorous prestige seems to derive from the esoteric nature of anthropological materials, which has the effect of disarming criticism from outside the discipline itself. Now, perhaps the most persistent complaint of all social scientists, but of the sociologist in particular, has been the failure of those outside the profession to take him seriously as a scientific expert. The time has long ago passed when any intelligent person is willing to be his own physicist or chemist. The biological sciences have a more recent establishment, but here, too, few persons try to be their own biologists. But the belief that every man can be his own sociologist stubbornly hangs on, and persists also to a lesser degree with respect to the other social sciences. This failure to recognize the scientific status of sociology exists not merely in the case of the man in the street, but also in the case of the well-informed man. There are a number of reasons for this situation and sociologists have often complained of them. The sociologist deals with modern society most of the time. The non-sociologist, being a member of the same society, clings to an equal right to have opinions about it. He is ready to differ with the sociologist, and to feel competent to do so whether or not he really has any basis for this assumption of

⁸ Ibid., p. 4 and footnote.

⁹ As Howard Becker has somewhere observed, this is essentially a distinction between what can be put under a glass case and what can not, and the writer is ready to agree that it is probably more useful for museum purposes than for sociological analysis.

competence. Even when the sociologist deals with historic societies, the educated man feels he also knows something of history and holds opinions here as well. Then, too, the sociologist not only deals with familiar materials, or materials thought to be familiar, but he uses terms which are also terms of ordinary speech. True, he may use them in very technical ways, in a sociological universe of discourse, but the non-sociologist assumes he understands their meaning. These complaints are familiar, and they indicate factors militating against the acceptance of sociology as a science. The anthropologist is happily free from these problems, dealing as he does with exotic materials beyond the ken of the non-anthropologist, and, as has been suggested in reference to language difficulties, sometimes beyond the critical range of many of his fellow anthropologists. Anthropological criticism is thus largely restricted to the precincts of the profession itself, without outside interference from other scientists or laymen. The advantage for scientific prestige of an esoteric subject matter and, to a considerable extent, an esoteric terminology, is obvious. The man who can bring up as evidence the Chukchi, Mundugumor and Kwakiutl, peoples whose very existence the ordinary informed person has never suspected, and whose very names are fearsome to pronounce, has an unfair advantage over his fellow social scientists.

Sociology is also beset by another difficulty. When sociology investigates contemporary institutions around which strong emotions, values and interests have clustered, the sociologist must expect criticism, if not open attack, from lay persons who are directly or indirectly interested parties. Again the anthropologist enjoys comparative freedom from public criticism on such grounds. He may discover facts which have devastating implications, but laymen are not likely to become excited about them since, after all, he is only dealing with poor heathen savages.

Related to this is another factor. Sociology began in American universities with applied rather than pure sociology, with courses in social reform and amelioration. Even today, most people make no distinc-

tion between the sociologist and the social worker. Indeed, for the general public the term *sociologist* still means something to do with "uplift." The connection of sociology with ameliorative activities through its applied branches has also militated against its acceptance as a science, both by those scientifically-minded people who look askance at practical concerns as well as by those who regard all reformers as dangerous crackpots. Here again, the anthropologist has the advantage. His concern with primitive people is to study them, not to reform them; his standing as a scientist is not likely to be jeopardized by any confusion between ethnographic work and missionary work.

There are still other factors that could be cited, such as the connection of anthropology with the respectability of museums, and with the prestige of biological science via physical anthropology. But to pursue this further would necessitate a thoroughgoing sociological analysis of the social factors making for and against the scientific reputation of scholarly disciplines. Enough has been said to indicate the role of such factors, and the sociologist, of all people, should be the first to recognize them.

Familiarity with the history of sociological theory shows that, repeatedly, sociology has sought to imitate the sciences currently in ascendancy. At first, it sought to imitate the natural sciences, to be mechanistic with physics, then to be biological with biology. More recently, it has hankered after psychological science, striving to become behavioristic with behaviorism, psychoanalytic with psychiatry. The taking over of anthropological concepts and materials may well be another manifestation of this tendency.

Anthropology has its tasks and sociology its own tasks. It is not being argued here that the social sciences should be shut up in hermetically sealed compartments. Inter-discipline cross-fertilization is valuable. Sociology and anthropology have had fruitful contacts in the past, and will continue to have them. But sociology does have its own tasks, tasks set by its own scientific tradition, defined by its concepts and hypotheses. The sociologist need not be deflected from these tasks to take over anthropological ma-

terials, except where he has good reason to believe such materials to be useful and directly pertinent to the matter in hand. The real problem is to determine when these materials are useful, and this in turn rests upon the ways in which the material has been analyzed. Sociology, in common with the other social sciences, has been beset by lack of agreement on fundamentals. It would seem that there is even less agreement on fundamentals in anthropology, and this may explain the confusion of sociologists attempting to use anthropology. We may conclude by indicating the central core of the confusion and pointing to the ways toward clarification.

What distinguishes a science from other sciences is not the material it studies but the point of view from which it approaches the material; the kind of questions which it seeks to answer. The study of man as a whole, even when restricted to non-literate peoples, cannot constitute a science. A primitive tribe is a community, a cultural group, or, considered from the point of view of its social structure, it is a society, just as our own group is a culture and a society. But when sociologists study our own culture or even an historic culture they have no exclusive claim to it. It is equally material for investigation by the economist, political scientist, psychologist, human biologist and many others. It is not otherwise with a primitive culture. The all-inclusiveness of anthropology as the science of man is in no ways changed by restricting its observations to non-literate man. All the sciences of man must be brought to bear upon non-literates as well as upon literates.

Even sociology itself has its branches corresponding to problem areas that overlap or touch upon other disciplines. Some sociologists are interested in problems of human biology; some, as social ecologists, in geographic distribution; others are social psychologists studying the interplay of culture and personality; and still others, whom we call social theorists for want of a better name, are interested in the central sociological problem of the nature of the social itself—in the structure of social relations and social groups. The signs are multiplying that

anthropologists are beginning to divide along similar lines. Physical anthropology has become a definite branch, but social anthropologists are also coming to concentrate their interests around special approaches. The anthropologists, who, like Mead, are interested in the social-psychological relation of personality and culture, are pursuing research along the same lines as the social psychologist. They are both in the same fields of study, irrespective of the peoples whom they happen to use for investigational purposes. And if the *social* anthropologist comes to focus his interest on the social, in social relationships, then his task will be indistinguishable from that of the social theorist. Then, social anthropology will not only be useful to sociology, but social theory will be indispensable to the social anthropologist who must surely make use of the analysis of the social structure as already developed by the sociologist.

With such a division of labor among anthropologists into real problem fields, corresponding to the branches of sociology and the social sciences, the now meaningless boundaries between sociology and anthropology can be removed and replaced by meaningful problem areas including both disciplines. Sociology and anthropology can then truly enrich each other. For certain purposes simpler cultures may serve as the most useful data, for others the larger contemporary or historical cultures; but sociologists and anthropologists will be working the same fields and using similar frames of reference.

The kind of research undertaken by many of the new generation of anthropologists, the existence of sections devoted to sociology and anthropology at sociological conferences and the nature of some of the papers read therein are growing evidences that a genuine rapprochement between the two subjects is coming into being. It indicates rapprochement along lines that can be increasingly meaningful and fruitful, breaking down the artificial distinctions that have blocked the usefulness of each subject to the other, and clarifying the confusions about the nature of that usefulness.

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WHAT PRICE GLORY? THE COUNTERPLAINT OF AN ANTHROPOLOGIST

LOREN C. EISELEY

University of Kansas

Today is a day of questioning in many sciences. Knowledge grows, but uncertainty continues or is augmented. Innumerable subsiences arise with new assemblages of facts. New theories evolving and "taking on" in a particular field are eyed enviously in another, seized upon and applied or misapplied as individual circumstance may dictate. Behind all this beehive of activity one is vaguely aware of competition and struggle, of the necessity men feel in a competitive, materialistic civilization to justify and increase in the public eye the importance of that branch of knowledge by which they live. If a particular subject seems at the moment to have gained more than its share of attention, hurried efforts are made to acquire its secrets. And if, after the passage of time, the secrets are found to be simple things, or inapplicable, the once admired science is apt to be held up to scorn or berated for arousing false hopes. It makes no difference, on such occasions, that the borrowed science neither held out such hopes, nor made extravagant claims which could not be justified.

Now I gather from Dr. Tomars' stimulating and provocative paper that anthropology, whose followers often regard themselves as abused step-children, has been deemed all this while a popular favorite with the public. Sociology, it would appear, has searched our pockets and, not finding the moon, is looking at us reproachfully. From the remarks of Dr. Leslie White, in a recent article in this *Review*,¹ it seems that sociology is now intrigued by the mysteries of mathematics. Anthropologists, for their part, show a tendency to flirt with psychology, and it may be that sociologists are thus obtaining materials watered thin through three sciences. None the less these alliances, licit or illicit, serve their purpose. Eventually, if sometimes disappointingly, knowledge gets distributed. Occasionally it is found of no particular use in the circles to which it eventually spreads, but even that discovery has a certain negative value.

I would be the last man in the world to object to Dr. Tomars' timely and searching paper. The very fact that in a few spots it caused my hackles to rise and complaints to pass my lips is

a good sign. It is indicative that there was meat there to growl over. We need these examinations now and then, and without quarreling at all with the main thesis of Dr. Tomars' article, I should like to direct attention toward a few points which, I believe, deserve added examination.

First of all let us note that Dr. Tomars doubts that "anthropology possesses any scientific methods or procedures unknown to sociologists" and views such procedures as those the sociologist has seen fit to utilize as having been of dubious advantage. He voices extended complaint upon the inadequacies of human paleontology and the way in which the doings of modern primitives have been utilized in picturing the life of fossil man.

Now most certainly vast gaps in the pre-history of man remain to be filled. I should like to point out, however, that it is only within the last few decades that this subject has been getting anything like the sustained attention that it deserves and that it must have if advances are to be made. Yet sociological texts, with few exceptions, continue to over-simplify this subject, to ignore new finds recounted in the technical literature, and to draw, for the most part, only from easily available and standard works which are, in many cases, badly in need of revision.

Dr. Tomars' charge that both sociologists and anthropologists attempt to draw too heavily on the lives of contemporary primitives in order to convey an impression of the life of our primitive forebears has merit in so far as such data are pressed into distorted use or made the background for schemes involving the unilineal development of a particular social institution. On the other hand, it would seem to be retreating into a most narrow and pretentious obscurantism to acquire a great deal of archeological information about our human forerunners only resolutely to refrain from making use of obvious general inferences on the grounds that since these people are extinct, nothing about their world can possibly be learned—even as to whether they did or did not respond to their environment in a manner similar to that of existing primitive folk. As a matter of fact, certain archeological remains would have been impossible of interpretation—they actually remained so for a time—had not extended field work revealed that similar implements were

¹White, Leslie, "Sociology, Physics and Mathematics," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 8: 373-379, 1943.

still being utilized in obscure marginal areas of the world.² The mere collection of bric-a-brac without the use of broad principles of interpretation, reduces archeology to a meaningless and futile antiquarianism. Grahame Clark, the English archeologist, has, in his fascinating little work, *Archaeology and Society*,³ pointed out how much information we can derive, archeologically, about primitive economics, and how, going on from this and the ascertained size of primitive settlements, we can accumulate much information about the social life of the inhabitants.

It is by the judicious use of both advanced archeological and ethnological techniques that we acquaint ourselves with the ways of our forerunners. To acquire much valuable information about them and to be sensitive to the limitations to which their environment reduced them, both intellectually and physically, it is not necessary for us to be able to postulate the exact political structure of, say, Neanderthal society. But the limitations placed upon that structure we can describe with considerable surety. There are religious traits so old that they apparently extend even into the dim world of the Neandertalians—burial and grave furniture, for example. Must we refrain from any interpretation of these items at all, purely because they were used by a vanished race of men, even though these cultural traits survive? Dr. Tomars says, "Needless to say, all these data are derived from the anthropologist's study of contemporary primitives." I regret it indeed, as I am sure all anthropologists must, if this is the sole way in which sociology attempts to give verisimilitude to the life of fossil man. Rightly utilized, it has uses, but the ground speaks for man with many voices. The techniques by which we hear those voices are still in process of elaboration by untiring effort and research.

Doubtless it is true, as Dr. Tomars triumphantly announces, that we possess no scientific methods unknown to our sociological brethren. But I, for one, have a vague feeling that anthropology has contributed, as Dr. Tomars graciously admits at some point, certain facts which are now widely used and whose original proprietorship is now forgotten. I think it might be said of anthropology that it has been the first to attack some of its own sacred cows even while they continued to be accepted elsewhere. And I think it obvious that whatever the merits or demerits of the methods and techniques which

we employ, we have employed them, and the results, if not all we might wish at present, have been widely utilized by sociologists, not always, I believe, to the detriment of their science or of science in general.

Dr. Tomars also raises the objection that "the study of primitives has given us only a static or flat picture of a social structure," because the time element involved in long-range historical data such as we possess for our own culture, is lacking. We miss the dynamic element. Now no one would deny the advantages of extensive historical documentation, though it might well be questioned how successfully we might read objectively the records of our own past without knowledge of the other history-less cultures which anthropology has investigated.

No practising ethnologist today would deny the importance of individual variation and its effects on the shaping of culture. Boas, Malinowski and many others have been highly conscious of its importance. Nevertheless, it was necessary, before individual deviation could be correctly interpreted, to obtain the so-called "flat picture"—a concept of the typical cultural behavior of the group—before the deviant and the forces of change could be clearly seen or studied. Moreover, as the late Dr. Boas has pointed out recently, the coercion exerted by the group in terms of demand for conformity makes "the impressionistically derived concept of typical cultural behavior [have] a much higher degree of reality than that of a physical type."⁴ It is quite true that there are dangers in deriving document and interpretation from the same source, but this is a fault which even history, for which Dr. Tomars shows great respect, cannot always avoid. The lack of check on the accounts of individual writers is not the fault of the science, as such, but is due, rather, to the handicapping of the science by inadequate support, as I propose to show.

Not least among the many interesting points which Dr. Tomars brings up in his discussion of the relations between sociology and anthropology is the charge that the latter has prestige advantages because of the romantic character of the anthropologists' subject matter—subject matter which, because of its nature, safeguards the science from the dangers of arousing the animosity of vested interest groups. Moreover, insists Dr. Tomars, our esoteric terminology involving all manner of strange tribes and customs gives the anthropologist "an unfair advantage over his fellow social scientists." The

² Boas, Franz, "Recent Anthropology," *Science*, Vol. 98: 313, 1943.

³ Methuen, London, 1939, Ch. 6.

⁴ Boas, Franz, "Recent Anthropology," *Science*, Vol. 98: 313-314, 1943.

anthropologist, he insinuates, basks in the prestige of great museums and is on friendly terms with biology. There is a certain amount of truth in this—just enough to lure the unwary. It evidences the old truth of the greenest pastures appearing to be farthest away. How, in fact, does anthropology fare?

If one sets out to examine a large collection of catalogues representing an average group of American colleges and universities, one will be struck immediately by the following facts: (1) That an overwhelming number of these institutions do not possess departments of anthropology. (2) That in many institutions where a certain number of courses of an anthropological nature are taught, they are taught within sociology departments and consist, in many instances, of no more than text book treatments of cultural anthropology. This, in turn, leads to a third point which, I believe has greatly retarded sociological grasp of anthropological subject matter, as well as handicapped the economic position of the average anthropologist.

Since the ordinary college or university has a flourishing sociology department, but seldom one in anthropology, the young anthropologist Ph.D. must seek his fortune, to a very considerable extent, not within his own field, but outside of it. He must be prepared to teach sociology as well as anthropology. Moreover, the average sociology department, which regards anthropology as an incidental side-line, is much more likely to hire a sociologist who can handle a text course in anthropology than to go outside the domain of sociology for its personnel. I can recall, for example, my initial surprise when a student friend of mine who had some interest in anthropology, asked me about the department in a large university to which he was transferring. Not knowing that particular institution had a department in the subject, I asked him for the catalogue.

Under a joint Department of Sociology and Anthropology, I noticed a considerable array of names and the fact that it was possible to acquire an undergraduate major and even an M.A. in anthropology at this institution. The names were strangers to anthropology. Without exception, they were those of sociologists.

Now my point is not whether anthropology was taught well or ill at that particular institution—something about which I possess no information whatever. The point lies in the fact that no other science of which I have personal knowledge is so greatly dependent for the dissemination of its discoveries upon hands other than its own. In no other, save perhaps paleon-

tology, is the young graduate faced with such bitter economic odds.

A few great departments do most of the research, pour out graduates. A few students with private means manage to travel, to do work which will lead them eventually to the great museums. For the rest, the road is rough and difficult. Many drift away into other fields. It is true that during the war period, numbers, particularly those familiar with foreign areas, have found work in Washington, but their future looms uncertainly.

The very nature of anthropological textbooks is added evidence of the precarious economic situation of the science. Textbooks of the subject are, almost without exception, weighted heavily toward cultural anthropology. There are sound reasons for this. Such texts, if they are to achieve any but meager distribution, must appeal to sociology departments, hence the emphasis must be placed upon those branches of the subject which appeal to the sociologist teacher of cultural anthropology. I do not think it at all unlikely that this undue weighting of one branch of the subject as against its other significant phases has contributed, in a certain degree, to the confusion of the sociologist and an over-simplification of many intricate anthropological problems.

The foregoing remarks are not to be interpreted as casting all of the failures and errors of anthropology, of which there are many, back into the lap of sociology. But it seems well to emphasize what has been little said: that there is a difference between headlines in the papers, even a considerable adulation and envy of the sociologist for the joys of a "romantic" profession, and the hard, cold reality of the fact that support for anthropological research is limited, its future insecure, its young men bedeviled by the more than usual lack of opportunity. Even the great museums show signs of retrenching under the tribulations of the last score years. And now comes Dr. Tomars to tell us our secrets are in the hands of sociologists; that they are not secrets, and that they amount to very little.

With an attempt at that complete objectivity for which Dr. Tomars has so ably pleaded, I say that if those who use our material and upon whom we rely for the major dissemination of our ideas have found us out—verily, where shall we turn? Happily it is suggested that the boundaries between sociology and anthropology are now meaningless. There is hope, then, for our forlorn division. It may be that we can teach sociology.

INCENTIVES TO WORK IN PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES*

FRANCIS L. K. HSU†

National Yunnan University, China

"Self-interest" in the broadest sense, including the interests of one's family, friends or other group, is the motivation of labor in all societies. In Euro-American urban societies this self-interest operates largely through money acquisition and exchange. In pre-literate societies and also in rural, non-industrialized communities on all cultural levels, self-interest operates largely through conforming to community values, following prescribed rituals or magical beliefs, and maintaining valued personal relationships and esteem. Self-interest is differently defined by different cultures, in terms of goals; and by different castes and classes, in partly quantitative terms—"ceilings" and "floors" of aspiration. [Ed.]

THE DIFFERENCES in economic incentives between European and primitive communities have been demonstrated by Prof. Malinowski, Drs. Firth, Nathan Miller and Viljoen, Prof. Thurnwald and others. Malinowski first stressed the necessity of examining the special features arising from particular institutional arrangements, in the economy of a primitive group.¹ Dr. Firth has shown from his Maori material that . . . the pleasure of craftsmanship, the desire for public approval, the feeling of emulation, the sense of duty toward the community, and the wish to conform to custom and tradition, all these and more find outcome in economic action.²

Dr. Nathan Miller, following this line of thought, has made an admirable synthesis of the available data and concluded:

"The folkways are usually impenetrably interwoven with considerations falling outside the range of the myopic vision of the ordinary

economist. Ideas of utility are freighted or encrusted with a wide range of evaluations that springs from many different sources."

Again,

. . . The principles of distribution and exchange in primitive life are generally contingent upon a degree of communal sharing and formal gift-making quite foreign to our commercial or industrial economics. One may almost speak of a perpetual mobility of income, wealth, and property, actuated by peculiar needs and social objectives. Success in these ends is rarely to be attained without propitiatory, placatory, or therapeutic rites on every hand. Whenever one looks, in fine, for the peculiarly "economic," one observes always the subtle organic tenacity of cult and art and traditions.³

Prof. Thurnwald speaks of a "different economic spirit" in the primitive societies.⁴

The main point of contrast is that, in the view of these authors, modern European incentives to work are economic or mercenary and calculable, thus making self-interest as incentive most evident, while in the pre-literate societies the economic incentives are invariably interwoven with rituals, interest in the community and other non-economic behaviour which often negate or obliterate self-interest. In my view, these differences have been over-stressed. In this

* "Primitive Economies in the Light of Consistency in the Mores," in *Studies in the Science of Society* (ed. J. P. Murdock), pp. 423-444, 1937.

† *Economics in Primitive Communities*, 1932, pp. 280-281.

* The writer is indebted to Dr. R. Firth and Miss E. N. Wermig for their kind criticisms and generous assistance.

† We are glad to publish this paper by a Chinese sociologist, concisely integrating and interpreting a variety of sociological and anthropological findings together with his own geographically wide observations. It has been impractical to communicate with him before publication, and the paper is published, with only a few trivial changes in phraseology, etc., as he submitted it. See news note on page 725. [Ed.]

¹ *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1932, pp. 166-167.

² *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1929, pp. 156-159, p. 162.

paper I hope to show: First, the contrast between 'primitive societies' and European societies is an anthropological myth, at least in this connection, because their differences are easily observable to exist between rural, non-industrialized and urban, industrialized societies; and secondly, even in primitive societies, the basic incentive to work is self-interest.

Let us begin with the first question. It is perfectly true that, in economic behaviour, certain sharp contrasts between pre-literate and certain European communities are often noticeable. For example, in London, a man will certainly be regarded as queer, if not insane, if he refuses to take a job on the pretext that the place of work is haunted by some bloody spirits. Salaries are practically synonymous with money. Relations between employers and employees and buyers and sellers are usually impersonal and non-friendly. The business motive is to gain larger and larger sales, even at the expense of honesty.

But let us take a trip to Rainford in the Midlands (England), to small village towns in Brittany, or to the tiny island Römö off the west coast of Denmark. We shall at once see something very different from what we are accustomed to see in the large urban centres. In these places we may find a pharmacist telling us that he refuses to sell a number of new medicines that he does not believe in. We may find in Plouha of Brittany practically the same kind of native wooden "chaussures" sold at two different prices in the same street because "they have always sold them at that price." We may also find the grocer's wife on the island of Römö not only interested in our buying the goods but also in talking to us about the weather and the beach, and in gaining our friendship by showing some generosity so as to ensure our further custom.

Observations similar to the above are not lacking in published works. "When the moon diminishes, in many European countries they think it is necessary to plant things which grow into the ground, carrots, turnips, etc. When it increases, it is necessary to plant those that grow up, cereals, vegetables, etc."⁵

In a voluminous work on American rural sociology the authors give a quantity of earlier beliefs and rituals which affect the farmer's ways of handling crops, children, animals and barns.⁶ The authors of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* have suggested five characteristics in the peasant mind: family attitudes, traditionalism and conservatism, provincialism, strong force of religion, and a logic developed out of his occupational setting.⁷ Dr. Arensberg has described at length how the important farm work of mowing in rural Ireland is done by communal co-operation largely on kinship lines, and that "there is no monetary payment involved in this work."⁸ Again he says:

Aid lent and duties performed at wedding and funeral are felt to be in the same category as co-operation in farming, thus a farmer of my acquaintance could say of a cousin: "He is the best friend we ever had; we can make bold on him. Johnny sent down a cow and calf worth £12 to us and didn't want anything for it." And he could go on in more general terms: "Everybody's friends in the country here are very good to you; they lend you a horse with the hay, or a boy going to the fair, or the send down to help when somebody dies with you." It is part of "friendliness" owed one's kinsmen to make up and serve food at wakes, weddings, to dig the grave, to carry the coffin, to keen over the dead. This conduct is reciprocal; "friendliness" implies mutual obligation. One countryman gave me as his reason for going to the funeral of a second cousin: "I have right to go, they always come over to this side."⁹

Do such facts not contrast with the usual conditions in any modern urban centre? Do they also not convince us that there is fundamental similarity in economic behaviour between modern rural communities and primitive communities? Do we not find that the

⁵ R. Allier: *Les Nons Civilisés et Nous*, 1927.

⁶ Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin: *Systematic Source Book of Rural Sociology*, Vol. II.

⁷ W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Vol. I.

⁸ Conrad Arensberg: *The Irish Countryman*, 1936, p. 65.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 67-68. There are other accounts about the Irish countryman which bear on the same point. See, e.g., C. Birmingham: *The Lighter Side of Irish Life*, 1912, pp. 185-202.

incentives to work in rural Europe, like those found in preliterate communities, are not reducible to one single dominant medium and are subject to the same sort of many-sided non-mercenary limitations?

When we review the processes of change through industrialization and urbanization, we find the similarity in behaviour between rural European communities and preliterate communities no less striking. Werner Sombart gives as the most important cause of migration in modern societies the following: economic pressure, the spread of the idea of freedom, and the attractions by apparently easy life and amusements.¹⁰

What are the causes which make natives of Africa and elsewhere go to European factories? Reports are uneven; among some groups we find the compulsory nature of work because of the poll-tax (Zulus, etc.); among others we read about the influence of Christian and other European ideas on the young people, who turn to despise their elders (Ngoni, etc.); among still others we observe how natives are attracted by the easy and almost adventurous life in urban centres (Thonga, Tallensi, etc.). Now when immigrants become sufficiently urbanized are their incentives of work still so interwoven with magic, religion and community sentiments as before? To this question there can be no better answer than the conditions of the Americanized Negroes and Polish peasants.^{11,12}

I am not suggesting that, in relation to capitalist Europe, the preliterate societies and rural European societies will follow strictly identical courses of development. Treating subjects of a different skin colour, the capitalist society is naturally less con-

siderate and more unscrupulous in its methods.¹³ The different social organizations and environments will also be of great importance in affecting the changes.¹⁴ But in the long run the primitive communities and modern rural communities will be in the same relationship with industrialized communities. They are drawn closer and closer into the bosom of the bigger economic centres and their incentives of work will be more and more calculable in terms of a single medium of exchange, the standardized money.

We come now to the second question. Is it true that, as regards the question of self-interest, there are fundamental differences between different societies? In other words, is it true that in rural or preliterate societies the incentives to work do not consist in self-interest?

My answer is in the negative, and may be supported by ample ethnographic data.

The important fact to remember at the outset is that in all societies is found some kind of ownership of property, women, tools, or magical practices.¹⁵ We see in most or all of their activities the idea at work of getting something for oneself, for one's wife, for one's parents or one's relatives, or for one's tribe as the particular requirements in the case may be, but never to get something, or do something for a man in whom one has no interest or with whom one is not related. Dr. Nathan Miller's data are illustrative of this point: Among the Papuans of the Trans-fly, the successful hunter receives public approbation and feels a corresponding pride. Much pain is taken to preserve his good record. Among the Ifugao in the Philippines, numerous religious beliefs and practices embrace weather and crop, and thirty-five or forty different deities can be invoked to twinge or coerce the debtors to pay the high interests due to the creditor. Etc. Now which of these facts does not clearly reveal self-

¹⁰ *Das Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus*, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 418-420.

¹¹ Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin said: "With the development of urbanization and industrialization and especially machine civilization these traits (religious and magical beliefs in economic activities, etc.) tend to fade and become less recognizable" (*op. cit.*, Vol II).

¹² Goodfellow and I. Schapera have also described the changes among some African societies due to forces of industrialization (see Goodfellow: *Economic Sociology*, 1939, and Schapera: *Western Civilization and the Natives of Africa*, 1934).

¹³ For example, in South African Union natives are forbidden to learn highly skilled trades and to combine for purposes of bargaining with the employers.

¹⁴ This interesting problem remains to be systematically and scientifically studied.

¹⁵ A. Goldenweiser: *Early Civilizations*, p. 137; Lowie: *Primitive Society*, pp. 205-233.

interest or the acquisitive desire? It is only the *means* used to satisfy the self-interest which are different. An Englishman in London will resort to "His Majesty's Justice" to exact payments from an evasive debtor instead of to the deities, but how different is this English method from the Ifugao method as regards motivation?

Malinowski's Trobriand data may be examined in the same light while stressing the fact that "the higher the rank the greater the obligation" for sharing, he also pointed out the fact that this giving is a means to "handling human situations, a source to power."¹⁶ Speaking of the elaborate institution of Kula, he writes on the one hand, "Giving for the sake of giving is one of the most important features of Trobriand sociology,"¹⁷ but on the other, "right through their ceremonial and commercial give and take, there runs the crude and fundamental human dissatisfaction with the value received. A native will always, when speaking about a transaction, insist on the magnitude or value of the gift he gave and minimize those of the equivalent accepted."¹⁸ Elsewhere he describes how the failure to receive a Yotile (or the second gift) can make a man angry, and that it may be obtained by pressure, such as carrying it away by force.¹⁹ Later on, "still more room for bad blood is left in the matter of equivalence."²⁰ In other transactions besides the Kula it was marked "with haggling and adjustment of equivalence in the act," and with making of profits from trading between Boyown and Dobu.²¹

Dr. Firth's Maori material presents a similar picture of inconsistency.²² Such inconsistency reveals how self-interest in fact dominates work incentives in these societies.

But self-interest is always socially conditioned. Basically social limitations exert themselves in two ways. First, individual self-interest generally cannot be satisfied without other self-interests being satisfied at the same time. Individual self-interests therefore integrate into a common or mutual interest, whether this common interest be between husband and wife, father and son, or among members of a tribe. The common interest expresses, on the one hand, mutual attraction among the members and on the other, the inability of the individual to pursue his own interest exclusive of others. The principle of reciprocity is thus an obvious result of self-interest.²³ Therefore when one ethnographer says of a tribe, "meanness is the most despised vice, while generosity is the essence of goodness,"²⁴ and another says of another, "if there is some generosity . . . , it is rare, always ostentatious, never disinterested,"²⁵ there is no real contrast. Nowhere is there a generosity as an abstract virtue, but in all it is a means to further self-interest.

The second kind of social limitation exerts itself upon the individual by conditioning his hopes and aspirations to tomorrow. Man lives not only by the present and the past, but also by the future. Hopes of the future are as a rule determined by the traditional scale of values of the group.²⁶ We may quote an excellent statement from Dr. Margaret Read who observed among the Ngoni in Africa the following:

The higher an individual's position the more he or she was entitled to possess. Conversely, individuals of the "lower" classes did not dare to accumulate stores of food or skins, or cloth for fear of being accused of *lèse majesté* and of using witchcraft to feather their nest. Old women

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274 and 354.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 359. Profit making is also reported in Mr. Driberg's little book, *The Savage as He Really Is*, p. 28. The Kafir while wanting goats and not cattle themselves, bought cattle from Didinga "for the price of 28 goats each" . . . and "sell without delay to the people of Tirangori for 60 goats" each.

²² *Op. cit.*, compare, e.g., p. 154 on the one hand and pages 152 and 388 on the other.

²³ Dr. Cora Du Bois has made similar observations among the Tolowa-Tututni (a Northwest American tribe), "If the poor depended on the rich one for payment of obligations, the rich man depended on the brawn and good will of the poor which was the underlying threat in every negotiation" ("Wealth as an Integrating Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Society," *Essays to Kroeber*, p. 55).

²⁴ Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁵ H. Labouret: *Les Tribus du Rameau Lobi*, p. 389.

²⁶ C. Bouglé: *L'évolution du Valeur*, 1929, pp. 110-111.

of low rank have often said to me, "I should have feared to wear this good black cloth at the chief's village formerly. He would have beaten me for making myself look like his wives."²⁷

Here the social gradation of the individual's hopes is very clear. This fact is observable everywhere, even in modern Europe. Most societies disapprove, for example, of "nouveaux riches" who, in order to climb the social ladder, imitate the dress and snobbishness of the higher classes. Some years ago I had chance to talk to a number of English and French labourers and found that those who were not influenced by Socialism or Communism in the abstract were rather satisfied with their lot. Some of them evidently earned inadequate wages. In speaking about his or her earning, a labourer did not compare it with that of Duke of Windsor or that of Monsieur Du Pont but often said, "I have a friend who earns less than I do," or "I can't get a better wage than this."²⁸

In the normal course of events the individual does not aspire to things way above his social station. He does not wish to take much more than his socially determined want (if he does, he is either a bandit or a revolutionary) but also he is not satisfied with much less than what he in his social

station ought to want (if he is, we probably regard him as an ascetic). This fact is the most important element in an individual's standard of living and is one of the greatest forces of social stability. By it the obvious and often unjustifiable differences in wealth or reward are made acceptable to the less fortunate.

Our conclusion is that the economic incentives in the preliterate societies are non-industrial and rural in their characteristics. Therefore, the contrast between European and rural economies is misleading. But even in preliterate and European rural societies the incentives of work are clearly definable in terms of self-interest. Self-interest is socially conditioned, differently according to the society and the class in which the individual is found.

Were data available this inquiry could be pushed further. Since self-interest is socially determined we may be able to ascertain the degree of its variation from society to society and from class to class. We may question, for example, what does the "self" consist of, and what are the concrete objectives in which self-interest expresses itself in different cases. "Self" may include one individual alone, or it may in addition include all of his clan members. The object on which self-interest is expressed may be material or immaterial. It may be money, food, women; or honour, patriotism, righteousness. It is evident that the material or immaterial nature of the return, if carried one way or the other to an extreme, may deeply influence the economic structure. The group with an extreme head-hunting ambition is bound to have one type of result and the group with wealth as the ideal will have another type of consequence. For this reason, in any modern nation, a war-time economy is different from a peace-time economy.

²⁷ "Native Standards of Living and African Culture Change," Supplement to *Africa*, Vol XI, 3, 1938, p. 19.

²⁸ Between the years 1937 and 1942 I travelled in England and Scotland a great deal, sometimes as a hitch-hiker, and sometimes as a respectable tourist. I also spoke in various centres to groups of workers and sometimes merchants, at the request of the China Campaign Committee. From the first source I came to know a fairly large number of industrial and other workers who were not as a whole influenced by communism and socialism. From the second source I met people who were strongly influenced by them. I perceived in these two groups of people a contrast of attitude toward the present society.

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ECOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

University of Lucknow, India

Ecological processes are closely related to *Gesellschaft* and also to scattered rural settlement, cultural processes to *Gemeinschaft* and the compact village. Both types of process and social relations are found, and are necessary, in both agricultural and industrial societies. Social and personal disorganization have resulted from excessive dominance of the ecological principle in rural areas as well as in cities. The cultural *Gemeinschaft* of the Indian village, which gives each community or region a distinctive "personality" of its own, is recommended as a valuable principle for social planning everywhere. [Ed.]

MAN'S ecological reaction, taking place as it does indirectly and externally through the limited factors of the environment is a fractional and impersonal reaction. His cultural reaction, taking place in the medium of social consensus and tradition is an integral and intimate reaction. The former represents man's segmental role which stresses the individuality of his action, status, and life-pattern. The latter represents the persistence and continuity of his collective role, and its products which are transmitted from person to person and from generation to generation. Both sets of reactions are equally significant as formative factors of group life and organisation.

Man's social organisation reveals numerous groups that owe their formation and persistence to either ecological and selective, or cultural and integral reactions. The predominance of one or other set of reactions governs the type and individuality of the community, whether it be a cluster of isolated homesteads, a rural village community or an anonymous town or city. In spacious and fertile river valleys, compact, "nucleated" villages are formed, and these early stabilise themselves as persistent, organised communities with increase of population and development of intensive farming. Ecological and cultural factors and processes aid one another in developing social cohesiveness and an exuberant variety of both primary and secondary associations. Ecological reaction builds up man's fractional modes of

behaviour and the secondary groups fulfilling parts of his changeful personality. Cultural reaction builds up the primary groups and the community on a super-individual plane with a reality and personality that overreach individual lives and actions. But sometime ecology and economy, instead of stressing individualistic and impersonal elements, develop community life on a much broader and stabler basis. The agriculture of the rice lands in India, Siam, China, and Japan necessitates collective management of water-supply and regulation of pastures. Rice farming cannot thrive without the co-operation of many farmers, families, and villages in the distribution and utilisation of water. Such co-operation is instanced by the collective building of dams and irrigation channels for the storage and distribution of monsoon rain and the construction of tanks owned and managed by the rural community. It is an ecological necessity connected with the exigencies of rice culture in the monsoon zone which accounts for the development of village communities in the rice zones of the world. Rainfall is neither deficient nor precarious, but water supply has to be collectively managed and distributed across the levelled fields or terraced slopes in the growing and maturing seasons of rice plants, and this factor becomes decisive in bringing about the clustered type of rural distribution. Where rainfall is inadequate and ill-distributed, but a perennial spring is found in an oasis in the desert, compact villages and

even small towns also grow up round it, as in Turkestan, Tunis, and Southwestern Punjab. Water-management makes the community *solidaire*. On the whole it is the poverty of soil and water resources which controls the type and distribution of man's habitations, and the adequacy or inadequacy of their community life. But while ecological factors such as the need of collective water management, agriculture and control of pastures originate the compact village-type of human settlement, man has forged cultural bonds that support the co-operation in agriculture and irrigation. Sometimes a tribe, a clan or a group of families has cleared the jungle and settled the village; a consciousness of kith and kin finds expression in various tribal-communal institutions such as the *panchayat* (tribal council) and *hamasayia* (guest house of the clan or tribe) and strengthens the economic solidarity. Where villages are occupied by more than one clan, tribe or caste, co-operation in the field of agriculture and irrigation paves the way to a community life organisation on a much broader and surer basis than is developed by those economic relations and social institutions in which different economic classes or social groups participate as cogs in the moving wheel of corporate life. The compact, rice-growing village in the East generally exhibits the scattered field system, which in the evolution of agriculture equalises opportunities for all in an agricultural community. But all paths and tracks across the fields, which for each farmer lie scattered in the area of settlement like autumn leaves, lead to the village that is the meeting-ground of all. Threshing floors, wells, temples, houses for the council of the five, guest-halls, and social facilities which are subject to community use, are all concentrated here. The landlord, the tenant, and the farm-hand take part in the rural economic management and in the whole host of village ceremonies and observances, recreations and amusements, and, economically and culturally, a complete, rounded rural community develops. Social and economic stratification and individual differences do not obscure the mutually shared traditions and rewards requisite

to the persistence of the rural community.

Ecologic factors such as the broken topography of a mountain region and the difficulty of cultivation and settlement in the forest, desert or marsh, also originate the contrasted type of human occupation, viz., isolated homesteads and scattered hamlets. These are to be found wherever man ascends the terraced hill-slopes up to the top of the mountain or fights the aridity of the desert, or again implants himself, however temporarily, amidst the wilderness of the jungle or across the sweeping tides of the active delta. Isolated and dispersed huts and hamlets are like pioneer plants which stand interspersed among one another in a new zone of colonisation. Man is here in the grip of ecologic forces, and his effort to win subsistence for himself in the precarious life of the forest clearing, marsh, or desert, gets the better of social intercourse and active community life. Pioneer agricultural communities with their sporadic groups of dwellings are too absorbed in the struggle with the unfavourable ecologic conditions, such as inclement climate, drought, excessive rainfall or infertile soil, to develop feelings of localism and community life. Insecurity of life, landlordism, and the lease-hold system and exploitative agricultural finance, contribute to the inefficient and unorganised type of community life; while the development of cultivation of a cash crop like cotton in the Egyptian and jute in the Bengal delta also nurtures an impersonal and ecological grouping of the population, which reaches neither the density nor the social coherence of compact villages of the alluvial plains.

The scattered or compact pattern of human occupation expresses the dominance of one or the other constant factor in social organisation, viz., the ecological, fractional and impersonal, or the cultural, integral, and intimate grouping which meets the variant needs of men living in a single limited area. Both these kinds of grouping are met with in all human communities. When the ecological reaction dominates we have a strong individualism or development of secondary groups, impersonal in nature, tending towards formal, urban and cosmopolitan ways

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of living. When the cultural reaction dominates we have primary, intimate neighbourhood groups with a marked development of localism and community organisation, which subordinate the individualistic needs of the members to the needs of the aggregate. The zones of wheat farming in the pioneer fringes of the world, inhabited by machines as much as by men living far apart from one another on ranches or farms, are the homes of sturdy individualism and wide-minded cosmopolitanism. The ancient zones of rice culture in Asia, dotted with thousands of regular congested villages, are by contrast the zones par excellence of a zealous localism and well-organised and integrated group life; the men irrespective of class or individual differences appearing to merge themselves in the individuality of the community.

The ecological, economic, and impersonal principle of grouping, and the cultural, intimate, and non-rational principle, build up distinctive types of social institutions. With the former are associated the country-store, ware-house, bank, school, club and interest-groups; with the latter are associated the temple, council of village elders, co-operative society, guild and neighbouring group. It is characteristic that while in Europe, and especially America, village names often indicate significant features of the landscape or refer to families who were prominent in early settlement or colonisation, in India place names more often describe homogeneous groups of caste or clan people inhabiting a locality, and refer to deities which express the community ideal and *morale*. The deity often gives the villages its place and community name in different parts of India, and expresses its "personality" orienting the behaviour of the people in relation to a central or dominant spiritual motif continuously through successive generations. The rural community, adequately integrated and organised, maintains a consistency of social behaviour, and is creative and immortal in this consistency, in its relation to the eternal, extra-individual ideal that the village deity symbolises. Every village as the medium of expression of real-group culture develops a "community personality" of its own which

works itself out into an integrated pattern of social and moral norms through devotion to the local guardian deity. The deities in the Indian pantheon are numerous; rural communities in India exhibit almost innumerable "personality" types. Vishnu (God as Preserver), Siva (God as Destroyer) and the Mother (Goddess as symbolising the almost innumerable phases of human behaviour and destiny), installed and worshipped in millions of village temples in India, play a significant role in integrating people's behaviour and social relationships by a beyond-human frame-work, and organising the community into a "personality," a group system of great significance.

It is significant that just as in the western type of industrial city the structural centre corresponds to the ecological centre of a business and prestige area, in many oriental villages this corresponds to the ecological centre of spiritual and intellectual guidance and prestige area. The ecological centre is the temple of the tutelary deity of the village or little town, the focus of civic attention and pride and of the major directive activities of the community. The temple in rural India is not merely a place of the gods. In South Indian villages the temple has its assembly hall where the meetings of the village assembly are held; and temple dances, theatricals and religious and philosophical discussion attract men from the entire countryside. Occupying the dominant site in the hill range, lake face or river bend, the temple and its influences serve to build up the culture, social manners and mode of living, the community personality of the whole region. The western type of industrial town or city is complex, diversified and inchoate in structure. The rural community is relatively homogeneous both in its ecological centre and its hinterland.

Yet even villages with an integral community personality of their own satisfy the insistent and purely economic demands of their inhabitants, through large, impersonal and more or less secondary groups and institutions. Each large village has its merchant and money-lending groups, and institutions such as the store, the ware-house, the

market, the fair, and the bank. Even rural dwellers carry on their trade, business or banking wherever profitable. They are connected with the fair and the bank by purely economic and impersonal bonds, though they may be tied to the village grocer and money-lender by social and economic ties. Cultural, intimate, emotionally charged, and ecologic, economic, impersonal groups represent contrasted types of association which are found in the rural community, operating to fulfil the variant demands of rural dwellers. It is from out of the merchant group and out of the ubiquitous rural institutions, viz., the daily market or the periodical fair, that the village gives rise to the town which at the beginning serves rural ends. The daily market in the village is a town in embryo which may develop and enlarge itself under favourable conditions. The impersonal, fractional urban ways of living lie dormant in every large village.

Both the cultural, primary, integral, and the ecological, secondary, selective forces and relations are accordingly revealed as major factors in social organisation whether in the rural or in the urban community. In most rural communities the bulk of social action is based on primary, face-to-face, integral, intimate relations as discernible in the family, the clan, the caste and neighbourhood groups. The norm of social action is derived from the familial and cultural types of grouping, characterised by mutual sharing of resources, risks and rewards, and this regulates and "humanises" fractional, rational, contractual phases of behaviour and relations associated with ecologic, economic, or mechanical types of grouping.

It is important to consider under what social conditions the village exhibits a net trend towards the ecological, impersonal, and selective type of grouping which eliminates or over-rides feelings of community solidarity, localism and order. We have already seen that the scattered patterning of rural occupations is unfavourable to the development of a strong, firmly knit community life. Most new countries of the world such as the United States, Canada, and South Africa have made their progress in the clearance of the prairie,

veldt or forest and in agricultural colonisation by adopting the dispersed type of rural settlement. In the new world the combination of large-scale agriculture and animal industry, which is facilitated by the use of power-driven machinery, has been the main support of farmers and home-steaders building on their farms, which are separated from other farms and homesteads by long distances. Thus neighbourhood groups cannot be developed, and in the U.S.A. recent social trends have called for the establishment of schools, co-operatives, and various other community centres that represent correctives of the extreme dispersal and lack of social integration. Even in regions of mature settlement where feudalism, absentee landlordism, or unprotected tenancy promote differentiation and antagonism between the economic classes dependent on the land (landlord, tenant, metayer, hired farm-hand, and disparity in their standards of living, the community established predominantly on the basis of economic relations and interests cannot attain stability and coherence. A mobile population of tenants, croppers and farm-hands, drifting from holding to holding, a chronic poverty and exploitation by landlord's agents, grain-dealers and money-lenders, and a great social distance between the agricultural classes, which prevents participation in community work and recreation, give the picture of an unsatisfactory and inadequately organised type of community life. Social and economic conflict between different interests in the land, the rise of big landed estates, unprotected tenancy and exploitative metayage, as well as the presence in the village of a large floating agricultural labour population clamouring for land, disrupt community solidarity in many compact villages in India and elsewhere. Rural class cleavage based on divergent interests in the land cuts across kinship, occupational or religious groups, and corrodes the structure and solidarity of the community. Family and clan feuds were formerly there. These were sometime deep-seated and persistent because of social memory which cannot be erased in an unchanging social situation. But the modern class conflicts, though less deep-seated,

¹ J. H. Est Group
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are more widespread and embrace a larger and larger number of the landless tenants and labourers from the country-side. Rural folk thus come to depend more and more for their unity and cohesion on the articulation of specific and segregated class interests. Grouping arrangements accordingly take new lines. Kolb and Wileden observe: "Locality groups have lateral or geographic dimension. Interest groups have psycho-cultural or perpendicular dimension. Locality groups depend upon proximity, common life, and residence in a recognised physical area. Interest groups depend upon polarity, promotion, special concerns, leadership, and deliberate effort. The polarity implies the fields of magnetic influence; when thus released from locality restrictions, people are attracted to certain places of interest."¹ Interest groups, by bringing together people from different localities organise and sharpen class cleavages in the rural world. Social distance is not merely the product of machine technology in the urban-industrial world; it is also the outcome of capitalistic farming, absentee ownership, free sub-letting and mortgage of land, and usurious money-lending in the rural society. The latter social phenomena are in fact older, and wherever these have brought about an excessive social distance between the upper classes and the actual tillers of the soil, the derivative "interest" type of social grouping has dominated, and the impersonal, economic and ecologic ways of living of the city have established themselves at the expense of primary relations, neighbourliness and cultural unity and solidarity of the members. Thus even in rural society the nature of community solidarity changes from the spontaneous neighbouring and mutual aid practices of the primary groups, to the deliberate and contractual co-operation of the secondary groups, and associations, whether tenant or agricultural labourers' unions, marketing syndicates, credit unions or federations of co-operative stores. Adjustment of the rural mores to the new deliberate, contractual types of co-operation is neither smooth nor effi-

cient. Too often, with the spread of the net work of urban capitalism and finance, the countryside has become the battle ground of sharply divided political parties, focussing agrarian differences, and with the political struggle drawn up along rural-urban lines there emerges the struggle for status of the rural proletariat, who become altogether misfits in the former community frame-work. The deliberate contractual type of co-operation takes the longest time to take roots in rural society. It is fostered directly by increased social stratification which, however, destroys more of cohesion and solidarity than it can build up, with the result that the transitional social stage is marked by sudden mob risings of peasants and outbursts even in peaceful rural India and Japan.

Both the cultural and primary as well as the ecological, economic, and contractual phases of social life and behaviour appear essential to the changing community. Every village or city thus has to face and solve the intimate problem of establishing a harmonious working balance between the contrasted attitudes and ways of living. The contrasts are characterised, according to the familiar dichotomy of the sociologists, as between *Gemeinschaft* relations (Tonnies), *solidarité mécanique* (Durkheim), *Vergesellschaftung* (Max Weber), status (Maine), primary groups (Cooley), localism (Zimmerman); and *Gesellschaft* relations, *solidarité organique*, *Vergemeinschaftung*, contract, secondary groups and centralisation. These opposite "ideal types" represent distinctive social relations, processes and forms of behaviour in the human community. An exaggerated stress on one or the other of these relations, processes and forms of behaviour threatens the existence of the community and indicates personality unbalance and disorganisation. It is not the contemporary urban civilisation alone which faces the *impasse* due to stress of the ecological, fractional, impersonal, and derivative, as contrasted with cultural, integral, intimate and primary relations and groups. Phases of the cultural versus ecological process, the *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* relations, status versus contract *impasse* are as old as the dawn of hu-

¹ J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden: "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," 2, *University of Wisconsin AES Bulletin* 84, 1929.

man society. Man's social habits, personality traits and standards of social values were moulded and deeply ingrained by the integral primary-cultural group relationships and experience in rural society. Thus the modern trend towards ecology, secondary groups, contract and centralisation in the urban-industrial world has meant a chaos in social adjustment and morals. Man will lose a good part of his humanity if the tried and preserved variations of human traits and life-patterns selected by particular primary groups in rural society, and his sense of reality of these and of his community life, be overwhelmed and disintegrated.

The key to the prevention of this social and moral crisis which faces mankind throughout the world in the new social and industrial age of indirect contacts and secondary associations is not one but many; for various ecologic, industrial and centralising trends and institutions mutually support and strengthen one another in their production of formal, fractional and impersonal social relationships and behaviour. Briefly speaking, the sense of reality of community life has to be restored in the new *milieu* through the organisation of associations, neighbourhoods and community activities that differ in species but belong to the same genus as those which humanised mankind in the horde, tribe, family or village. Social nuclei have to be established for urban dwellers so that many basic needs of human nature which are not fulfilled or are repressed may be adequately satisfied; and the processes of social integration, active intercourse and culture which have been interrupted in the present social transition may be renewed. The renewal of the community personality might be deliberately planned through social work, publicity, education, and the fine arts. There is also need of a new institutional outlook. Social planning appears now to rest on the world-wide conviction that centralisation is indispensable in implementing deliberate social and economic policies. This belief is itself the product of the present mechanical and industrial age. As Zimmerman observes: "The industrial system with its emphasis on centralisation, whether through chain stores,

branch factories or advertised goods has brought about a similarity of communities. The development of the concept of 'parity' between regions, and between rural and urban districts whether in the nature of rewards or grants, of minimum wage laws and industrial regimentation or of propaganda itself, means standardisation—one of the primary factors aiding centralisation. Finally, the belief that the day of the local community has passed, and that the country, the state and the federal government should take over the functions formerly handled by the local community is gradually reducing self-government."² Instead of centralisation and bureaucracy, inspection and inspectors, there is need of more regionalism, localism and community realism, more of local and functional self-government, more of local and regional initiative and control in administration, taxation, education, sanitation, land and water utilisation and social services. Politically speaking, democracy can be nurtured best by political pluralism, which is a corrective of class struggle and promotes an alert, active citizenship devoted to the management of local and regional affairs. Centralisation, on the contrary, ranges the classes in strong opposition to one another and stresses class conflict and the paralysing desire of the people to expect every thing from the government at a distance. In the East and especially in India where political life began and evolved in small groups, lending a significant richness to the local, communal and vocational (or professional) life and interests hardly to be seen elsewhere, democracy will be more adaptive and vital if it can grow from within, using and renewing the local and non-local groups and assemblies, region by region, in the framework of the new polity. In Eastern communities local affairs in villages differ only in degree from affairs in the national or central government; thus there will be a great increase of initiative, if the smaller units are entrusted with real powers of self-government, not those limited and qualified powers delegated to them from above—a half-measure which is at once dis-

² Carle C. Zimmerman: *The Changing Community*, p. 645.

¹ For
races of

couraging and demoralising. At the same time the interfusion of diverse and conflicting religious and caste elements in the local and functional bodies, if made really self-governing, will prevent class consciousness and party strife from being developed. Such local and functional bodies will correspond to the natural regions of the country, with some diversity of resources wherever possible, but homogeneous in social composition, and in all cases having a well-defined central historical town and some connected cultural tradition.³ Nations that are being fast urbanised and industrialised are becoming shallow-rooted. Small towns, villages and "regions" are as necessary to fulfil certain basic needs of human nature and group life, and to implement certain essential cultural demands, as are big towns and cities. Even now the world still very largely lives in the small rural community; while regionalism, in its industrial and administrative aspects, the development of modern suburbs and garden cities, "rurbanisation," and the co-operative organisation, all seek to promote the technical and social efficiency of little towns, villages, and hamlets. Only a restoration of the immediacy of relationship and of community life and personality through neighbourhood, primary or cultural groups can bring about balance and normality in urban culture. Perhaps even this may not succeed, under the present regime of capitalism, in weaving together the snapped threads of community life. In the planned society of the future the distribution of population, industry and institutions will be far different from what these are in capitalistic urban communities. It is possible that the logical sequel of the modern schemes of redistribution of industry and dispersal of population, and regional and social planning will be the regu-

lation of the size of cities and towns on the basis of cultural and industrial efficiency. This will imply such institutional reconditioning of populations that their present citified habits, and hectic, abnormal and mercenary living in a social void will be largely transformed. Civilised man will sooner or later turn to the deeper and stabler joys and intimate personal loyalties that can be inspired by living in communities of small size and by participation in functional groups and neighbourhood activities, and will subordinate the impersonal, rational-contractual standard to organic, communal and cultural ties. The latter will weld together individuals and groups in communities which may exhibit a life-organisation and a personality of their own and may be something more than their mere place names or addresses. Only the sense of community life and personality working in and through the press, publicity, social work, or some other tool in our modern towns or cities, can prevent that relative mental and moral isolation of civilised mankind, which is the root cause of its major social and economic diseases. From this will spring a new humanism and a social and civic idealism, which will be adequate to control civilised man's myriad indirect contacts and formal, secondary group relationships, in the same manner as the primary group sympathy within family, neighbourhood groups and village controlled social relationships in the earlier age. Not before man's consciousness becomes expanded to cover different classes, races and nations with whom his life has become interlinked in the anonymous world of the big city, industry and commerce, can he redefine what is the human and right, and secure moral stability for himself in the ecological, impersonal and secondary group environment of today.

³ For political reform in India see my *Democracies of the East*, Chap. XXI.

THREE GENERATIONS OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST INDIANS

NORMAN AND UNA HAYNER

University of Washington

In contrast to the relatively close cultural unity between grandparents, parents and children among the Hopis and Navajos of the Southwest, Indian groups of the Pacific Northwest show a wide divergence in manner of life, attitudes and behavior among the three generations. The preliterate culture of northwest tribes was not as well developed; contacts with whites have been more numerous and more devastating. This paper gives special attention to the Piegan Blackfeet of Montana and to the Quinaults of the Washington Coast.

AMONG the Indians of the Pacific Northwest the changes in family life from the days of the great grandparents to the present-day generation of parents have been tremendous. The contrast between the relatively self-sufficient homestead of the white pioneer in this region and the urban apartment-house life of some of his grandchildren is great, to be sure, but not as great as that between the primitive tepee or "smokehouse" of the preliterate savage and the modern bungalows of some of his descendants. The grandmother in one of the leading families on the Umatilla Reservation in northeastern Oregon was, for example, a slave girl captured in a raid on a neighboring tribe; the father grew up in a tepee, married "Indian fashion," i.e. by living with a woman without ceremony but with group sanction, and became eventually the owner of a substantial amount of land and of a house completely equipped with modern furnishings; one of the daughters attended the public high school and was the first Indian girl to be elected queen of the Pendleton Round-up.

Other examples of these astonishing shifts in family life may be found on any reservation of the Pacific Northwest. In the Owhi family on the Colville Reservation of northeastern Washington the grandfather was a warrior under Chief Joseph, the Nez Percé; the father is today a leader among his people; the youngest son plays basketball on the public school team. On the same reservation a 19-year-old boy at first refused to permit the field nurse to lance an abscess on his hip because his great grandmother, age 86, would not give her consent. Felicity Aura-

paka, along with many others of her generation thought that Indian medicine was better until she was *shown* otherwise. Fifty-five-year-old Bertha Loches of the Klamath Reservation in south central Oregon still likes to go camping, dig in marshy places for the nut-like *apaw*, pick huckleberries and wild plums as her primitive forebears did; but she insisted, in the days before electricity came directly to her modern home, that she have a push button in the kitchen to save going outside to start her own power plant.

What could present more effectively the problem before us than the following vivid description of "conflict in the present-day Indian family"? The writer, a recent graduate of the University of Washington, lived on a reservation until she left to attend high school and college.

The picture that has been before my eyes all my life is three-fold in nature: the first is the *older group* adopting just enough of the new to insure peace from the government officials, until death can release them from the ordeal. The second is the *children of this older group* who know enough of the old and the new to wonder if their parents are correct in clinging to the old, or if the white man is right in imposing his culture upon them. The tragedy of the whole situation is that of the *third generation*—a generation which knows more of the present-day culture, and little of the old and is really "on the fence" with the greater part of the weight leaning toward the white man's ways. . . .

Both my father and my mother are of the two cultures and each of them had one parent who was more of the old than the new (the grandfather on the father's side was a white trader who traced his ancestry back to an officer on

the *Mayflower*). As a result it has been quite amusing to me to view the conflict. . . . All my life I have never known complete ease in my home, because of the inconsistency of my parents' orders.

Not all groups of American Indians show such wide differences between grandparents, parents and children. Among the Hopis and Navajos of the Southwest, for example, we found a close cultural unity between the three generations.

The cultural vitality of the Hopis can be largely explained by their isolation. Located on mesa tops in northeastern Arizona, sixty miles (over poor roads) from Highway 66 and the Santa Fe Railroad, and approximately in the center of the vast dry Navajo Reservation plateau, they have not experienced the same intensity of contact with white civilization that has characterized most of the Pacific Northwest Indians. Inter-marriage with whites has been practically nil. Girls from other Indian groups sometimes marry Hopi boys, but such marriages are frequently unhappy. These girls are not accustomed to the hard work that is expected of them, such as grinding great quantities of corn on primitive grinding stones and carrying water from springs far below the mesa tops. The strong control exercised by the elders was illustrated dramatically in 1941 when five young men belonging to families dominated by the "hostile" chief Dan of Hotavila, refused to register for the draft. In Hopi society today exogamous matrilineal clans persist with little change and the kinship system continues to be fundamental in determining social relationships.

Among the surrounding Navajo herdsmen, even more than among the Hopi farmers, the old language and traditions persist. Sevenths of the 40,000 Navajos were unable to speak English in 1930 in contrast to twenths of the 3400 Hopis. Navajo reluctance to change is seen in the fact that many "extended family" groups still live in clusters of mud and log hogans. Grandparents, their unmarried offspring, some of their children and grandchildren, with possibly a few other relatives on the mother's side, make up these socio-economic groups. They work together in caring for the flocks of sheep and in hoeing

corn fields in the bottom lands. Although leadership is not well developed, the Navajo being very much of an individualist, the older men and women make the important decisions. Children are given more independence than in a white American family and yet are well behaved. In a recent three-day gathering of a thousand Navajos the many children made very little noise, in spite of the fact that at these festivals the sleep of the youngsters is broken and their usual pattern of life is upset. The cultural unity between the generations in the Navajo family is no doubt a major factor in explaining this juvenile orderliness.

Contrasting with the situation in the Southwest our field studies among the Piegan Blackfeet of northwestern Montana and the Quinaults of the Washington Coast reveal wide differences in the attitudes and behavior of grandparents, parents and children. To these two groups of Indians special attention will be given in this paper.

Three generations of Piegan Blackfeet may be roughly differentiated as follows: (1) the full bloods over 55 years of age; (2) their children between 35 and 55 years; and (3) their grandchildren under 35. The full bloods cling to the old ways; their offspring lead a double life; the third generation, to an extent much greater than Hopi and Navajo youth, have drifted away from the code of their grandparents.

In the buffalo days, before the year 1885 when the remaining herds of buffalo were slaughtered for their hides by white men, the Piegans moved up each summer toward the mountains now included in Glacier National Park and down each winter into the sheltered valleys of the plains. Buffalo were killed when needed—also antelope, sheep and deer. The poles and buffalo hide coverings for the tepees were pulled from one camp to another by horses of which each group had several hundred. Everyone had to be eternally alert against attack. A man gained both honor and wealth in his tribe by stealing horses from the enemy. The ideal woman combined chastity with skill in cooking and in the tanning of buffalo hides. "The good girl blushed, giggled, fled. A bad woman was fair game for any man."

The family life to which the older full bloods were accustomed was polygynous. Bloody warfare and hunting dangers led to a surplus of women. Since women were the processors of raw materials it was to a man's advantage to possess extra wives. These wives were usually sisters. It was felt that they would get along better together. The scale of seniority among the wives was "on a basis of ascending age as regards honor, and on a basis of descending age as regards sexual favor." The first wife was called "the sits-beside-him woman." She might do bead work for her husband or serve the men at one of the many stag parties. She was also the housekeeper and told the younger wives what to do—get the wood and water, put up camp, unsaddle the horses, keep the fire of cottonwood logs burning in the tepee all night. The husband ordinarily had absolute authority over affairs within the family. If he found earrings under a wife's saddle and she hesitated in explaining their origin he might cut off her nose. There were at least three cut-nose women on the Blackfeet Reservation in the nineties. When ordered to discard their extra wives in 1891 some of the old full bloods did so. Others refused to give them up.

Contacts with white traders, trappers and hunters in the little town that sprang up near the adobe Fort Benton at the head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri resulted in a mixed blood population. From 1890 to 1940 the proportion of mixed bloods in the tribal roll increased almost ten times—from 8 percent to 79 percent. At present about 40 percent of the 4300 Blackfeet are one-quarter Indian or less. These biological changes have, of course, been associated with a rapid and to some extent demoralizing assimilation of white ways.

In general the remaining full bloods over 55 years of age believe in the Piegan religion, cherish their medicine bundles, and retain the incense of sweet grass and sweet pine in their homes. The men keep the old hairdress—"long hairs" they are called locally; the women still wear shawls. Although many items of white food and clothing have been adopted by them, they tend to regard the younger generation as

"crazy." Bobbed hair was a symbol of mourning in the old code; painted fingernails reminded one old warrior of a badger and made another "sick at the stomach." Some of the economically independent full bloods have learned to raise stock on their own ranches, usually at some distance from the drab little town of Browning where an Indian slum neighborhood of unsanitary, overcrowded shacks, commonly known as "moccasin flat" contrasts sharply with the modern, white-painted houses of the officials on "agency square." These independent full blood ranchers have often built homes which are managed much like those of whites. There are three meals a day, the houses are clean and Christmas presents are wrapped in white tissue paper with red ribbon. Even in these modern homes however, the old costumes, beaver bundle and religion are sometimes carefully preserved.

The custom of living with a woman without ceremony and of regarding her as a wife has been carried over into the present. Full bloods who have been living together think it silly that the agency wants a ceremony. "Who is your husband now?" is, however, one of the most frequent questions at the leading general store in Browning. The present practice lacks the parental arrangement and general public sanction that characterized the early marriages.

The children of the old full bloods are marginal people. They may believe in the Indian religion and yet have Christmas trees and go to mass. They often think that Christianity is a good religion, but that the Piegan faith is the "real religion." They follow the Indian religion six days in the week and the white man's on Sunday. If they are mixed bloods they lean toward their white ancestry and toward white ways of living. They want to live like civilized people. Medicine bundles are out. The old way is regarded as inferior—a simple way adapted to life in the open. They are "scrambling for civilization." This means automobiles, radios, silk stockings, and overstuffed chairs. They are very public spirited, which may be a compensation for a feeling of inferiority about their Indian blood. They want to prove that it is good blood.

Third generation members have drifted away from the old religion. They ignore the old taboos and yet they are not good Christians. They have lost "self-respect" and "principles." There are some Indian full blood children who, although they may know a few Piegan words, talk English entirely. The middle generation often must act as interpreters between the grandparents who speak only their native tongue and the grandchildren who speak only English. Smoking, drinking and carousing are worse in the younger generation. As one old timer expressed it "there is no brake on young people." In the buffalo days children were "worshipped" and yet they behaved. Twenty years ago a "bawling out" was sufficient to make them be good; today that doesn't work. They defend their own behavior in terms of "liberty," "self-government" and "personal rights."

With the growth of coeducational schools for mature young people, the old system for controlling the sex behavior of the younger generation is no longer effective. The girls learn that the boys are not strange creatures from whom they must run. "Meanwhile the boys still grew up in the theory that any women who yielded to their advances to the extent of a whispered endearment or a hand clasp were potentially 'bad women,'" writes Margaret Mead in her monograph on *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* in the Plains region. "As a result," she continues, "young people arrange their own elopements, which sometimes do and sometimes do not become marriages, with complete disregard of their parents' wishes, and the parents, who are still laboring under the delusion that the old code is in force, are baffled and uncertain." With a background similar to this it is not surprising that during the four-year period 1932-1936, there were recorded 50 illegitimate births among Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation. This means about one illegitimate birth for every twenty women of child-bearing age. In two of the cases the man had taken out a marriage license and the girl had thought she was married, but the license was not returned to the Clerk of the District Court.

In the early days of the Indian service,

boarding schools were military in their organization. There were "work details," "disciplinarians," a "commissary," a "mess hall," "drills" and "parades," "uniforms," "bugle calls." They were regarded as reform schools by the Indians. (Indian boy offenders have in fact been given their choice in the State of Washington between Chemawa and the Reformatory). Although this military emphasis has been changed the educational techniques are still inadequate to train Indian children for effective competition in a white world. The recent emphasis on day schools is, no doubt, a move in the right direction.

At Chemawa young people from the Blackfeet Reservation get used to the conveniences of the government schools. They have flush toilets and shower baths. They come home to a hut on "moccasin flat." The parents are on rations. (In 1940 about one-third of the 750 families on the Blackfeet Reservation presented a permanent relief problem and another third were not interested in rehabilitation, but were satisfied with relief or with subsistence wages on a CCC-ID or W.P.A. work project). At first a girl graduate wants to live as she did at school. For a year or two a visitor at the shack may find her washing the floors and cleaning up her little brothers and sisters. Slowly, however, her efforts slacken and she "slides back to the blanket." This is not because she wanted to. There is nothing else to do. Finally she marries a poor Indian boy and lives with his or her parents. Her friends exclaim: "Hasn't she become Indianfied!"

Jobs are few on the reservation. Applicants with quarter or more Indian blood are given preference by the Indian service. There are six Indian teachers in the Browning public schools who are local products; the agency office employs six young people from this reservation who went away and came back. Some of the county officials are Indian. A few of the Piegans have sufficient daring to leave the reservation for specialized training such as in social work or nursing. A larger number will not go away but will make every use of opportunities on the reservation. At present the armed services and civilian war work provide job outlets,

but they do not offer a permanent solution of the economic problem.

In brief the Piegan has been notoriously exploited by whites, his best land taken from him, his ability to work collectively discouraged. Contact with white civilization has undermined his native traditions. Although his family life may be stronger than that of whites in the same economic class, it is very much weaker in the third generation than it was in the first. It contrasts unfavorably with the strong family integration of the Hopis and Navajos. Boarding schools have tended to alienate children from their parents without providing skills adequate for independent existence. The same has been true for the Hopis and Navajos but not to the same extent. (Don C. Talayesva, whose interesting autobiography, *Sun Chief*, edited by Leo W. Simmons, was recently published, although exposed to ten years in the American education system, is still at fifty very much a Hopi). Unable to get or hold a position off the reservation, many young Piegans have been forced to return as to a ghetto, and must eke out a precarious livelihood in what is really an overcrowded rural slum.

The Quinaults of the Washington Coast and their northern neighbors, the Quileutes, are similar to the Piegans in that the manner of life, attitudes, and behavior of the younger generation are very different from those of their grandparents. Morton Penn, chairman of the Quileute Tribal Council, impressed upon us the importance of a big family for protection in the blood feuds of his grandfather's day:

In grandfather's time you must always be ready for attack. Every place you have knife with you. At meals (served in a big wooden dish on the ground) you crouch on one knee ready to defend yourself. Your knife is held in the bent knee—you haven't got no pants to carry it. If someone has a grudge against you, he doesn't warn. He jumps. Whoever is quickest drives his knife through the other fellow. If relatives are present they take sides in a free-for-all fight. The weakling had a poor chance to live unless he was protected by a big family. There was a lot of this kind of thing in the old days.

Although educated at Chemawa, where he

learned to brush his teeth and play football, Morton Penn still retains some of the ancestral skills. His twenty-seven-foot dug-out canoe, "Rising Cloud," is the fastest in La Push, his home village. With an outboard motor it makes nine miles an hour. (A Taholah canoe recently maintained an average speed of 15 miles an hour in the 35 mile round trip to Lake Quinault). Interesting enough, Penn's nephews—he has no children of his own—cannot speak a word of the Quileute language.

In some ways the Northwest Coast Indians differ markedly from the Piegans. The grandparents or great grandparents of present-day Quinaults lived in large rectangular cedar-plank dwellings known as smokehouses. Taholah, the principal village of the Quinault Reservation, has today 83 individual residences, with a permanent population of about 300. In contrast to Browning it was not accessible by road until 1928. To reach it by land the visitor had to travel ten miles of ocean sand beach and wait for low tide at the "cliffs." When he was eight years of age one of the oldest residents attended a government boarding school here. According to him there were in 1863, three smokehouses facing the roaring surf of the Pacific and two along the quieter waters of the Quinault River. These structures were about 60 feet long and 20 feet wide. Students from the school were permitted to stay in them until 9:00 o'clock in the evening. Each building housed four families. They were probably called smokehouses because there were no definite smokeholes for the four separate fires. The owner of one of these primitive dwellings had two wives. Because she had slave ancestry on her mother's side, number two wife did not rate as high as number one.

This same informant described his father's smokehouse six miles up on the Hoquiam River. Although smaller than the Taholah longhouses it also sheltered four families. He reminded us of some of the older Piegans when he said: "Children have their own way now. They were good in those days. They would play and give no trouble." He was afraid of his father. If he did not mind he was whipped. At 14 he learned to spear fish and at 18 to hunt elk. Later he hunted the

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sea otter on the south side of Point Grenville. The good wife in those times knew how to cook salmon. If salmon or sturgeon were caught others were invited to help eat them.

In contrast to the aboriginal buffalo hunters of the Plains these Coast Indians can still engage in their primordial occupation of fishing. The triangular Quinault Reservation includes within its boundaries the entire length of the salmon-filled Quinault River. A few families with especially favorable fishing sites make as much as \$10,000 in a good year. Probably not more than twenty families exceed \$2000 in a season. Part of the prosperity due to a good run of salmon in the summer of 1940 was turned into new shoes, coats, bicycles, cars and trucks. 1941 was an even better season with an aggregate income of \$150,000, as compared with \$50,000 in a poor season. A few exceptional Quinaults save for the lean years. Some of the many families who do not own fishing sites are not well clothed. In general, however, the Quinaults do not seem to be pauperized to the same extent as the Piegiens and the proportion of dependent families is smaller. The predominantly seasonal character of the work available—logging, berry and hop picking in addition to fishing—has, it is true, created a serious problem in the social utilization of the prolonged periods of leisure.

The grandparental custom of marrying outside the tribe persists into the present. Intertribal marriages are facilitated by contacts made in the berry fields and hop yards, and by friendships at the Chemawa boarding school. Out of 82 school children 41 were listed by the nurse as full blood Indians; 27, three-quarters up to full; 12, one-half up to three quarters; and 2, one-quarter up to one-half. Fourteen Indian tribes are represented in a wide variety of combinations. In the early days fur traders frequently came into the mouth of the Columbia to the south and into Neah Bay near Cape Flattery. They often lived with Indian women and sometimes came back at intervals and raised families. Eventually they sailed away leaving their white blood behind them. Some of this blood flows in the veins of present-day Quinaults. It is interesting that one of the 82

children is part Chinese. His Oriental ancestor was probably a cook on a fur-trading ship.

When the school nurse first came to Taholah she began visiting the homes of the pupils. In one case she visited the same house three times. Mrs. D. had two J. children, one L. and two D.'s! This is not regarded as unusual. Although 90 percent of the Indians are legally married, some live with one person for a time and then shift to another. Several years ago a Protestant minister was getting along fairly well at Taholah until he had the temerity to give a sermon on adultery. This did not go well with his congregation and he had to leave.

In the period when the grandparents were young the family was the most important social unit. Boys assisted their fathers in fishing; girls, from early childhood, helped their mothers. The grandmother made small berry baskets for the little girls. Group traditions were learned informally around the family fires in the smokehouse. The control exercised over the younger generation was, of course, much more complete than it is today. At present inability to control youngsters is a problem. "Miss—, I can't manage her," said a parent to the visiting teacher. "We've whipped, bribed, but can't manage." That parental control may be lost very early is indicated by the fact that twelve and thirteen-year-old girls are often beyond control.

With this background it is not surprising that delinquency is high in the age group 13 to 18. Out of 49 adolescents in this group (24 boys and 25 girls) 15 boys and 4 girls were reported as delinquent in 1941. Theft and sex problems, complicated by drinking, were the principal complaints. In the days of the great grandfathers of these youngsters such behavior was largely a family matter. Life was simpler in those times, however, and there were no automobiles, no hop-yard contacts and much less liquor. In place of the family these cases are now largely handled by the tribal court. In some instances a boy is sent to the Luther Burbank disciplinary school in Seattle or to the State Training School at Chehalis. An occasional girl is sent to Grand Mound, the State School for girls. A 13-year-old uncontrollable daughter who

drank, stole, played hookey from school and chased soldiers, was recently sent to Chemawa.

Irregular school attendance and juvenile offending are to be expected in a community where the old traditions have been undermined, where family controls have weakened and considerable easy money is available. The newly acquired visiting teacher, herself part Indian, tries to work out chronic cases of truancy with the parents, but finds it difficult when children are not interested in school and parents refuse to get up in the morning to prepare breakfast for them. She is concluding that it is necessary to have the support of the regular teachers—which she does not have—in order to make the school the community center. She has, however, organized a kindergarten and three troops of Girl Scouts. A more adequate program of organized recreation together with a curriculum adapted to the life that these youngsters will probably lead are definitely indicated.

The population of Taholah seems to be roughly divisible into two groups: those who "belong" and those who do not. Newcomers do not belong. Mrs. Annie Waukenis does. It was our privilege to talk through an interpreter to Mrs. Waukenis in her home. She was born more than seventy years ago in her father's smokehouse near the present town of Montesano. Ten canoe loads of goods were brought to her father as a gift from the Quinault chief and eventually Annie traveled to Taholah to become the bride of the chief's son. She had been decorated with paint by an older brother for the occasion. As she came into the village from her canoe, her head was covered with ten shawls and ten blankets. These were given away to high class women in the tribe. Both Mrs. Waukenis and her daughter were considerably isolated from their tribesmen. Other Indians had to use a salutation roughly equivalent to "my mistress" in addressing them.

Mrs. Cleveland Jackson, wife of the present chief of the Quinaults, also "belongs," but is in contrast very Americanized. For eighteen years she has been secretary of the tribe's business committee. One of the noteworthy activities of this committee has been to employ the best legal talent available to

defend the valuable fishing rights of the tribe from encroachment by white sportsmen and others. It is interesting that although Mrs. Jackson has been effectively aiding her people in fighting against the whites, including the government, in these legal battles, she and her fellows are completely loyal to the present American war effort. Her two sons are fighting for Uncle Sam and she has been the vigorous head of the village civilian defense work. In case of emergency, plans are complete for evacuation of Taholah in two hours. Mrs. Jackson shows a fight and fire that fit very well her role as the chief's wife. If more Indians had her spirit there would be less demoralization.

In conclusion both the material and non-material culture of Piegan and Quinault families have changed amazingly in three generations. The Piegans make occasional use of tepees, to be sure, but often, as at Glacier Park, these are erected merely to interest tourists. Although the remnants of one of the old smokehouses were still to be seen at Taholah a few years ago, even these are now gone. In contrast the Hopis still occupy the oldest existing type of American apartment house and the Navajos cling to their hogans. The Pacific Northwest groups also have greater difficulty in controlling the behavior of their children. The Piegans and Quinaults have had more contacts with whites and their original culture was not as well developed as that of the Southwest groups.

A thoroughgoing solution of the adjustment problems of the younger Piegans and Quinaults should include revival of the best traits in the old cultures, education that will interest them and will enable them to compete effectively with whites, and the development on the Blackfeet Reservation of economic activities that will make self-support possible. The authors find themselves in agreement with John Collier, progressive Commissioner of Indian Affairs, when he says: "Indian organization must be encouraged and assisted, Indian family life must be respected and reinforced, and Indian culture must be appreciated, used, and brought into the stream of American culture as a whole."

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SOME RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY*

MAPHEUS SMITH

National Headquarters, Selective Service System

ONE of the most controversial and persistent problems in the field of sociology is that of rural-urban differences in intelligence and the effect of migration on such differences.¹ It is widely believed that important differences in mental ability and learning ability exist between urban and rural populations and that migrants from rural areas tend to be more intelligent than those who do not migrate, while migrants from cities to rural areas are less intelligent than those who remain. Large bodies of evidence tend to support such conclusions, but complete demonstrations of inequality of original nature and learning ability of rural and urban people and of the selective character of migrations between urban and rural areas offer so many difficulties that early dogmatic answers seem to have been premature.² So many changes take place in the original nature of people who are the subjects of investigation that the underlying

facts and implications remain ambiguous.

Without being able to avoid all of the difficulties of ambiguity of evidence of other studies concerning the fundamental factors responsible for their conclusions, it is the purpose of the present report to analyze a body of data on the residential history of university students in relationship to their intelligence test scores. In addition to touching on the questions of rural-urban differences in intelligence scores and the selective effect of migration on intelligence the data also make it possible to answer these questions:

Is a geographically mobile population more intelligent than an immobile population?

Is the number of instances of geographical mobility related to intelligence?

Is there a relationship between length of residence in large cities (or between a combination of time and opportunity for numerous social contacts) and intelligence?

The population analyzed consisted of 851 University of Kansas students, most of whose names were taken at random from the student directory of 1937-1938 and interviewed concerning place of birth and age at each change of residence to any other community or open-country neighborhood. Approximately one-third of the subjects were elementary sociology students in the author's classes during the years 1937-1940. The intelligence scores were percentile scores made on the American Council on Education Tests at the time of entrance to the university. The sample is believed to be generally representative of the student body of the liberal arts college in regard to sex, age at time of test and race.

The analysis will begin with a consideration of place of birth related to intelligence. In order will then follow analysis of the data to reveal relation between intelligence and

* See Summary, p. 663 for abstract.—Ed.

¹ See P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, Chapter XI and pp. 565-569; and P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, Minneapolis, 1932, Chapter XX and pp. 479-508 for discussion of the different points of view. For recent studies see N. P. Gist and C. D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1938, 44, 36-58; W. P. Mauldin, "Selective Migration from Small Towns," *American Sociological Review*, 1940, 5, 748-758; G. A. Sanford, "Selective Migration in a Rural Alabama Community," *American Sociological Review*, 1940, 5, 759-766; N. P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Rural Migrations," *Rural Sociology*, 1941, 6, 3-15; Smith, Mapheus, "Intelligence of University Students by Size of Community of Residence," *School and Society*, 1942, 55, 565-567; and Hobbs, A. H., "Specificity and Selective Migration," *American Sociological Review*, 1942, 7, 772-781.

² Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

(1) population of place of residence at time of entrance to the university, (2) amount of mobility and (3) opportunity for social contact.

Place of Birth and Intelligence. There was only a small relationship between place of birth and intelligence test performance for the subjects studied. Examination of Table 1 reveals that the only difference of importance was that between subjects born on farms (mean 49.7) and each of the other categories of population of place of birth (ranging in mean from 57.5 to 61.9). In each of the latter categories high intelligence scores strongly predominated. Only one of the dif-

Place of Residence and Intelligence. There was also only a small relationship between intelligence test performance and population of place of residence at time of entrance into the university.⁴ Table 2 reveals that there was a clear difference in intelligence between farm subjects (mean 48.4) and town and small city subjects (means of 55.4 and 55.6, respectively). But there were even larger differences between farm and medium city and large city subjects (means of 65.6 and 62.6, respectively, for the latter). The means reveal a consistent increase from farms to medium cities, and then a decline for large cities, which, however, surpass the other

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE PERCENTILE AND POPULATION OF PLACE OF BIRTH OF 851 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Population Category	Intelligence Percentile Range					Total	Mean	S.D.	σ av.
	1-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-99				
Farm	11	20	13	13	14	71	49.7	27.37	3.248
Town to 2,499	30	44	55	61	74	264	58.0	23.97	1.473
City 2,500 to 14,999	33	45	50	54	77	259	57.5	27.86	1.731
City 15,000 to 99,999	8	22	20	29	40	119	61.9	25.97	2.381
City 100,000 and over	18	22	25	30	43	138	58.4	28.62	2.426
Total	100	153	163	187	248	851			

ferences between average intelligence of subjects born on farms and those born in other population categories was statistically reliable, that for cities of between 15,000 and 99,999 population (critical ratio of 3.03), although in the other cases the differences closely approached statistical reliability (critical ratios ranging from 2.12 to 2.33).

No consistent relationship was found between size of community in which a person was born and intelligence at time of college entrance, the largest mean being for the medium sized cities, and the smallest, aside from that for farms, being for the small city. In spite of the general tendency toward a difference between intelligence of subjects born on farms and those born elsewhere, which suggests a positive correlation between intelligence and size of population of place of birth, the relationship is so small as to be practically meaningless for prediction, as is indicated by a coefficient of mean square contingency of .165.³

smaller population categories by a considerable margin. Several statistically reliable differences were disclosed by further analysis of the mean differences. Both medium and large city categories surpassed farm subjects by a statistically reliable amount (critical ratios of 3.65 and 3.05, respectively), and medium city surpassed both town and small

³ This coefficient is approximately equivalent in meaning to those obtained by the use of the product-moment and rank-difference methods of correlation, but the sign of the coefficient can be determined only by examination of the contingency table, rather than from the computation of the coefficient. In the present case, as in others, to be referred to later, the association between the variables is positive. The coefficient of mean square contingency based on a 5 x 5 fold table also is limited to a smaller maximum than coefficients of correlation: .894. The contingency method was employed in the present study because of the varying limits of the categories employed for the variable compared with intelligence in each of the analyses made.

⁴ Place of residence was defined as that of parents.

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city subjects by a statistically reliable amount (critical ratios of 3.45 and 3.55, respectively).

In contrast with these statistically reliable differences,⁵ only one difference was statistically reliable in the table for place of birth. This difference between the two tables suggests that place of residence is much more clearly related to intelligence than is place of birth. However, the margin is relatively small, as is indicated by a coefficient of mean square contingency of .192 for residence, compared with the figure of .165 for place of birth.⁶

Direction of Movement. Comparison of Tables 1 and 2 shows the character of the net changes in place of residence. A total of 71 subjects were born on farms but only 38 resided there at time of entrance to the university. Although those of lowest intelligence were reduced in number from 11 born on farms to 5 residing there at time of university entrance, the change was even more pronounced for the highest group (14 and 6, respectively), as well as for the next highest group (13 and 6, respectively). The mean for the farm residents was slightly smaller than for those born on farms (48.4 and 49.7, respectively). A decline also occurred in the number of residents of towns compared with those born there, and the residents also had lower intelligence than those born in such localities (55.4 and 58.0 respectively). The

small city group made a proportionately great increase in numbers, but the intelligence level also declined somewhat. There was also an increase in number of large city residents, as compared with those born in large cities. And in this case the mean intelligence of the category increased (means of 62.6 and 58.4, respectively, for residence and birth). There was also an increase in mean intelligence for medium-sized cities (65.6 and 61.9, respectively, for residence and birth), although the number of subjects was slightly smaller.

Thus, there was a general tendency for these subjects to reside in larger communities than those of their birth. And the more intelligent subjects tended to reside in large communities than to be born in them. In other words, the processes of selection that have been disclosed by other data from the same area⁷ were found in the subjects under discussion. These tendencies and processes are not sufficiently pronounced in the present sample to indicate that the characteristics of the populations concerned are being quickly altered, but the cumulative effects of continued changes of the same magnitude would undoubtedly be profound.

Amount of Mobility and Intelligence. Of the 851 subjects dealt with in this analysis, 362 remained in the same community⁸ of residence from birth until entrance at the university, 312 moved once or twice, 124 moved three or four times, 31 moved five or six times, and 22 moved seven or more times (Table 3).⁹ The residential immobility of 362 subjects is important in connection with the net amount of change in the mean intelligence of members of population categories of different sizes. Since the amount of change that did occur was selective, it is

⁵ Gist and Clark, *op. cit.*

⁶ Reliable information was not obtained from all subjects on intra-community moves. The number of communities resided in equalled $n + 1$ where n = number of changes of place of residence. Travel during vacation periods was not counted as movement of place of residence.

⁹ The precise figures were: 1 move, 190; 2 moves, 122; 3 moves, 77; 4 moves, 47; 5 moves, 17; 6 moves, 14; 7 moves, 8; 8 moves, 4; 9 moves, 6; 10 moves, 1; 13 moves, 3.

⁵ It is of interest to note that there was a statistically reliable difference between intelligence of 1,422 subjects of rural residence and 4,302 subjects of urban residence, all from the same university during a comparable period; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

⁶ The classification of each place of birth or residence in each population category was made on the basis of the population of the place in the census year nearest the date of birth or change of place of residence. In a few instances, therefore, change in the population of a place caused it to be placed in a different population category from the one it was in at an earlier time. All such changes were to categories of larger population. However, unless the subjects from such places made higher intelligence scores than those from places which did not change categories, the reported differences between the coefficients would not be due to these changes. There was no evidence of higher than average scores made by students from the places which changed categories.

probable that the amount of difference between the intelligence of each two population categories would have been even greater and there would have been a stronger tendency for the differences to be statistically reliable, if all subjects had participated in the movements.

Amount of residential mobility is positively associated with intelligence to at least a slight degree. The immobile subjects had the smallest mean intelligence among the categories in Table 3 (54.0). The next lowest mean was for subjects moving 3 or 4 times (59.2), while those moving 1 or 2, 5 or 6, and 7 or more times followed, in order (60.1, 64.2 and 68.2, respectively). Thus, except for the comparative intelligence of those moving 3 or 4 and 1 or 2 times the size of intelligence means progressively increased with the amount of mobility.¹⁰

However, the contingency coefficient for Table 3 was only .185, which indicates only a very small relationship between the variables, similar to those relationships found

¹⁰ This fact calls to mind an indirectly related fact: notable personages surpass the average of the population in geographical mobility. Cf. Mapheus Smith, "The Mobility of Eminent Men," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1938, 22, 455-457. However, it is not necessary to conclude that mobility is a factor in either eminence or intelligence. The relationship for eminence may be explained by the fact that mobility brings the person closer to the place of greater opportunity for eminence. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-461. The explanation for intelligence may be similar, namely that the city is a place which "attracts" and "holds" people with qualities leading to high test scores and/or stimulates those with potentialities for such scores to develop them. That is to say, the correlation of intelligence with mobility may be causally significant, but without implying that the intelligence is more dependent on hereditary than environmental factors.

for size of population of place of birth and of place of residence related to intelligence. The critical ratios of the differences between the amount of movement categories also fail to reach acceptable limits, ranging between 1.76 and 2.82 for the immobile subjects, on one hand, and those moving 3 or 4 times respectively, on the other hand. The obvious reason for the lack of reliability of the large differences between the immobile and highly mobile categories (10.2 for the 5 or 6 moves, and 14.2 for the 7 or more moves) was the small number of subjects in the more mobile groups, with correspondingly large standard errors of the means.

Opportunity for Social Contact. Since one of the most general correlates of intelligence is size of population of place of residence, it seems probable that there would also be a correlation between intelligence and length of residence in larger population groups. It likewise is reasonable to suppose that the association between intelligence and length of residence in larger population groups would be closer at some periods of life than at others.

According to the theory that in the earliest years of life the individual, because of plasticity of nervous system, is most easily influenced by environment, it might be supposed that those people who later were most intelligent would for the most part be found in the larger communities during the pre-school years, on the assumption that the city offers a more mentally stimulating environment than do small towns and farm areas. However, since the correlation between intelligence and size of population of place of residence at time of test is closer than that between intelligence and size of population of

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE PERCENTILE AND POPULATION OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF 851 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Population Category	Intelligence Percentile Range					Total	Mean	S.D.	σ av.
	1-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100				
Farm	5	11	10	6	6	38	48.4	25.29	4.102
Town to 2,499	32	38	45	56	53	224	55.4	27.32	1.825
City 2,500 to 14,999	46	63	63	67	90	329	55.6	28.08	1.548
City 15,000 to 99,999	4	20	19	25	46	114	65.6	24.82	2.325
City 100,000 and over	13	21	26	33	53	146	62.6	26.69	2.209
Total	100	153	163	187	248	851			

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE PERCENTILE AND NUMBER OF CHANGES OF RESIDENCE OF 851 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

No. Changes of Residence	Intelligence Percentile					Total	Mean	S.D.	σ av.
	1-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100				
None	56	69	69	82	86	362	54.0	27.65	1.453
1-2	28	52	65	68	99	312	60.1	26.51	1.501
3-4	15	25	15	26	43	124	59.2	28.61	2.569
5-6	1	4	8	8	10	31	64.2	22.83	4.100
7 and over	0	3	6	3	10	22	68.2	22.49	4.795
Total	100	153	163	187	248	851			

place of birth,¹¹ it seems likely that the relationship between intelligence and size of population of place of residence would be larger in the high school years than in the elementary school years and larger in the elementary school years than during the pre-school period. In order to make a general test of the hypothesis that intelligence is more closely related to size of population of place of residence at a time closest to time of entrance to the university than it is at a time closest to time of birth, a separate index was constructed for the pre-school (1-6 years), elementary school (7-13 years) and high school (14-17 years) periods and for the total period before university entrance (1-17 years).¹² In calculating each index a year's residence on a farm was arbitrarily given a value of 1, in a town of less than 2,499 people at the nearest census a value of 10, in a city of between 2,500 and 14, 999 people a value

of 50, in a city of between 15,000 and 99,999 a value of 125, and in a city of more than 100,000 people a value of 200.¹³ The index for each period of the person's life was calculated by multiplying the community size values by the years or parts of years of residence. Each such index, since it combines a time factor with size of population of place of residence, may be thought of as an index of opportunity for social contact or an index of potential association.

During the pre-school period the subjects who resided on farms or in small towns (an index between 1 and 50)¹⁴ numbered 46 and had a mean intelligence score of 47.8, considerably below that of each other category (57.9 for index 51-200, 56.4 for index 201-400, 63.1 for index 401-800, and 58.3 for index 801-1200). These averages closely approximate the figures for size of population of place of birth (Table 1). The significance of the differences also was similar for these two analyses. The critical ratios of data for the mean intelligence scores for opportunity for social contact ranged from 2.06 for the difference between indexes 1-50 and 201-400 to 3.44 for that between indexes

¹¹ It is also worth mentioning (1) that prominent people are known to be more urban in place of residence than in place of rearing, and more urban in place of rearing than in place of birth, and (2) that such people rank very high in intelligence. The first of these facts is borne out by E. M. Lott, "Rural Contributions to Urban Leadership in Montana," *Montana State Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 262, 1932. The second fact is borne out by a variety of lines of evidence, of which one of the most impressive is the study of mental traits of eminent persons by Cox. See C. M. Cox, *Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses*, Stanford University, 1926.

¹² No check was made of the subjects to determine at what years they attended various kinds of schools. A few entered the university at less than age 17, and others entered at more advanced ages. Nor was a four year high school experience characteristic of all subjects. However, the distribution of ages for pre-school, elementary school and high school periods very likely is a close approximation to the actual experiences of the subjects.

¹³ These values are not intended to be relative to average population or families of the population categories, that is, to full potential for social contact. Instead, the values are selected with the general idea that numbers of social contacts do not increase as rapidly as does population within range of personal, direct, interstimulation and interresponse. Empirical data are greatly needed to provide a basis for more valid indices of this sort.

¹⁴ No subject who had lived for as long as 1 year in even a small city would be included here; no subject in this category could have lived in a town as many as five years; and each would have had to live on a farm 2 or more years. Tables on which the analysis of opportunity for social contact is based are available in unpublished form.

1-50 and 401-800, but the only statistically reliable difference for the entire series was the latter.

During the elementary school period only 43 subjects were found in the most rural category (index 1-50), three less than in the pre-school period. There was also a smaller proportion in the next to the lowest category (224 compared to 254). Larger proportions of the subjects were in the middle category (201-400) and next highest (401-900) categories (increases of 14 and 22, respectively). In the largest category (901-1400) there was a decrease from 143 to 140. The mean for the subjects having predominantly rural experiences during the elementary school years was slightly lower than for the pre-school analysis (47.2, compared with 47.8), and the mean for the largest index category surpassed those for place of birth and pre-school years (62.3, compared with 58.4 and 58.3, respectively), suggesting a sequence of migratory movements toward larger communities from birth through childhood. However, there was again little tendency for intelligence to be related to size of community. The highest mean (62.8) was in the next to the highest index category (401-900) and the middle category (201-400) had the next to the lowest mean intelligence score (54.9). In this analysis two statistically reliable differences were found: between categories 1-50 and 401-900, and between categories 1-50 and 901-1400 (critical ratios 3.39 and 3.26, respectively).

The trends already disclosed continued through the high school years also. Only 40 subjects remained in the lowest category during years 14-17. There was also a continued reduction in the next lowest category, the total being only 207, while the middle category continued to increase in numbers, rising to 329. The mean of the lowest category also was further reduced to 46.0, while there was an increase in the mean of the middle and next to the highest categories (55.5 and 63.2, respectively). In spite of these changes, there was still no consistent relationship between size of mean and index of opportunity for social contact, since the mean of the next to the smallest category

(57.1) surpassed that of the middle category, and the mean of the next to the largest category surpassed that of the largest category (62.3). Only two of the differences in mean intelligence were statistically reliable: between lowest and next to the highest, and between lowest and highest categories (critical ratios of 3.84 and 3.68, respectively).

One other fact is related to the correlation of intelligence with size of population of places of residence at different ages. The measured relationship between intelligence and opportunity for social contact was closer during high school than during the pre-school or elementary school period (mean square contingency coefficients, based on five-by-five fold analysis for the three periods of .262, .196, and .195, respectively). These figures are in line with the facts mentioned in the last three paragraphs.

On the whole the correlation of index of opportunity for contact with intelligence score was small, but the evidence indicates that the two variables are related. It also appears that the total amount of time spent in each sort of population category is an important consideration, or to be more specific, that residence in cities is more closely associated with intelligence than is residence on farms or in towns. For 38 subjects who resided during part or all of their pre-university years on farms (having an index of total opportunity for social contact between 1 and 100) the mean intelligence score was 47.1, compared with 59.5 for those who lived almost exclusively in large cities (index of 3,001 to 3,400). However, those subjects who had a more widely varied but predominantly urban experience (next to the largest category) had a higher mean intelligence score (62.1), while the subjects in the next to the lowest and middle categories had intermediate intelligence scores (57.3 and 55.6, respectively).¹⁵ None of the differences between means in this combined analysis is statistically reliable.

¹⁵ The inconsistency between size of mean and size of index of opportunity for social contact indicates that the measured relationship is small. The coefficient of mean square contingency of .188 supports this reasoning.

Summary and Comments. The following conclusions seem to be justified by the data presented:

1. A slight positive association exists between size of population of place of birth and intelligence score.
2. The association between size of population of place of residence at time of test and intelligence score is slightly closer than for place of birth.
3. Although some compensating movements occur, a net loss in number of residents is suffered by the farm and town population categories. The small cities exhibit the greatest increase, but there is also a gain for the large cities.
4. The movement to places of larger population is selective, with the majority of migrants making high intelligence scores.
5. Immobile subjects have lower intelligence scores than mobile subjects.
6. There is a slight positive association between amount of mobility and intelligence scores.
7. Length of residence combined with size of population of place of residence is slightly associated with intelligence score.

8. The association between intelligence and length of residence combined with size of population of place of residence differs from one age to another, with the closest association characterizing the years 14 to 17.

Most of these conclusions offer support for theories previously advanced. Such is the case with intelligence and place of residence, predominant direction of movement, selective character of movement, and distance of movement. Little comment is required on them. The predominant direction of movement is toward cities from rural areas, as it has been throughout much of the country for many years. In the present sample the direction is also influenced by the fact that we are dealing with liberal arts and pre-professional university students, a highly selected group, who have urban interests and an urban point of view. It is important to note, however, that although urbanward movement has taken place in the direction of larger cities, it has been chiefly toward the small city category in this sample, in which the university

community, Lawrence, Kansas, is found. The character of the life standards and goals and the identification of specific places—hence of population categories—with small city standards and goals helps to account for the direction of movement.

The relationship of intelligence to size of population of place of birth and residence and to selective migration has been interpreted so frequently that it deserves little analysis. Selective migration, whatever its significance for the original nature differences of people in different places, occurs because changes tend to occur that improve the adjustment of people. In the pursuit of their objectives, which in attending a college of this sort, may be thought of as urban objectives, people with urban interests, motivation and other mental characteristics which contribute to higher scores on intelligence tests, tend to move in the direction of situations where these traits have the most usefulness. If the intellectual qualities concerned are not yet developed, they may develop more fully in the more urban areas, which are moved to for non-selective reasons, but which may then remain the place of residence because of the general degree of adjustment of people of certain qualities to environments of certain kinds. This general pattern of explanation accounts particularly well for the differential movement of the more intelligent toward large cities and the apparent differential immobility of the more intelligent city dwellers. Although the differentials are slight in this, as in most situations, they are nevertheless of great significance in the cumulative sense.

Neither a completely environmental nor a completely hereditary explanation is being employed for the phenomena. It is clear that such evidence as that obtained in studies of college students cannot be used to weigh accurately the importance of each of the two main factors. The interests, motivation, mental flexibility, speed of response, educational experiences and other causes of high intelligence scores are a combination of both hereditary and environmental factors. The average intelligence of persons born in cities surpasses that of rural persons not alone

because of hereditary factors but also because of environmental factors. There is nothing in the present data to demonstrate that either environment or heredity has a predominant influence on the result.

The significance of the relatively low average intelligence of immobile subjects and of the association between amount of mobility and intelligence is also obscure at present. Perhaps the simplest interpretation is that mobility increases knowledge, stimulates curiosity, tends to develop speed of response, encourages imagination and develops mental flexibility, all of which qualities help to improve intelligence test performance. Mobility requires new social contacts and relationships and the accompanying experiences also may influence performance on tests. It is true that change of place of residence also results in a breakdown of at least part of the original associations, and this may constitute a general handicap; but such losses may be less of an intellectual than of a social or emotional character. This would be particularly likely, if the relationships broken were those with the least stimulating, immobile persons in the former community.

In spite of the plausibility of such an experiential theory, there is another possible interpretation of the facts. Perhaps the higher intelligence scores are only associated with mobility, because the parents who are more mobile are more intelligent, and their mobility is associated with occupation, wealth or other items that also are associated with high intelligence. In many such cases it may very well be that wealthy people or those in certain occupations, who are highly intelligent, because intelligence has helped them to become wealthy, or because intelligence is prerequisite to success in an occupation, are mobile, because occupation contributes to mobility or wealth provides means for it. The children of such people may in turn be above average in intelligence chiefly because of hereditary factors. Thus for neither the parents nor the subjects whose intelligence has been discussed would the association of intelligence with mobility *necessarily* be due primarily or mainly to experience. That such

a theory is more complex than that first mentioned, and appears to rest on somewhat uncertain relationships between variables, does not justify its rejection without positive evidence. So far as available knowledge on these subjects goes, it is not known which of the two theories is most nearly correct, but a combination of both may very well be the answer. A closer approximation to the "true" explanation cannot be made now.

Essentially the same problem arises when one attempts an interpretation of the association between intelligence and length of residence combined with size of population of place of residence. The environmental theory, which stresses the highly stimulating total experience of a person who has lived for years in a large city, seems to offer far more than the more indirect hereditary interpretations. But the experiential interpretation is no more clearly forced upon one here than it was before. And it again seems probable that some unidentified combination of the two theories would be the most defensible explanation.

Our knowledge is also inadequate to provide a fundamental explanation of the higher correlation between intelligence and index of opportunity for social contact at age 14-17 than at any other age or during the entire pre-university period. Although it is clear from a comparison of the subjects' shifts from one category of index of opportunity for social contact at one age to another category at another age that the correlation is highest in the latest period as a result of movement, the underlying causal pattern of the relationship between intelligence and opportunity for social contact cannot yet be stated. More of the subjects who later proved to be of high intelligence left the farms before age 14 than remained there, while the reverse was true for those of low intelligence; and more of those later making high intelligence scores moved to large cities before age 14, while the reverse was true for those of low intelligence. Selective mobility is thus the apparent explanation. But it is also possible that the intelligence scores of the subjects underwent some changes as place of residence changed and new social contacts

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occurred. Since intelligence scores have a high degree of stability,¹⁶ it may be concluded that such changes were small, but present evidence does not demonstrate their non-occurrence.

Knowledge on several of the doubtful points of interpretation could be obtained, if comparable intelligence scores had been available at different periods of the lives of the subjects. Most studies of movement related to intelligence have had only one score available for analysis, either that made before any of the movements analyzed, or that made after all of the movements analyzed, as in the present instance. Since all such studies leave many ambiguous relationships of the facts, investigations of the follow-up or repeated test variety are strongly suggested. Such information may be expected to reveal whether intelligence test performance changes with movement, whether it remains stable and selection of intelligence in reference to different environments takes place, or

whether some combination of these two processes occurs. If the last possibility is demonstrated, although selection may still be more important than change in intelligence in the combination, the relative contribution of the two processes to the final result may then be revealed. Without some such method of removing present ambiguity, the effects of mobility cannot be clearly gauged.

The fact that various previous studies have revealed selective migration after subjects have taken intelligence tests is strong presumptive evidence that selection of already stabilized intellectual ability rather than change of intellectual status explains the present data. However, it remains possible that change of residence in the other studies was also associated with some change in intelligence test performance that would have been revealed by other tests after mobility had occurred. In other words, follow-up testing, or some satisfactory substitute, remains necessary, if the correct implications of the relationships between migration and intellectual status are to become apparent.

¹⁶ The latest comprehensive review of the evidence is R. L. Thorndike, " 'Constancy' of the IQ," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1940, 37, 167-186.

ATTITUDES ON STATE UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

JAY C. KNODE
University of New Mexico

DURING the fall of 1941 and the spring of 1942 the writer personally administered a group of "sophomore scales" to state university students in various parts of the United States. These scales were contrived for the purpose of ascertaining attitudes toward vocations, student honors, student activities, and numerous student objectives. General directions for the scales read as follows:

You are asked to make ratings on the following scales on the basis of 1, 2, 3, or 0. The number "1" indicates greatest value or weight; the number "2" a lower value, etc. Draw a circle around the number which most nearly represents your rating.

Example: 1 (2) 3 0 Influence of home. Here the influence of home in a given scale would be given average value or weight.

(However, it should be pointed out that the "0" rating was used only in Scale VI.) In addition, two scales from the series edited by L. L. Thurstone under the heading, *The Measurement of Social Attitudes*, listed below as Scales VII and VIII, were used.

The eight scales were given to 293 university men, of whom 234 were sophomores and 59 were juniors and seniors, and to 252 university women, comprising 197 sophomores and 59 juniors and seniors. The men's group represented sixteen universities; women were tested in fifteen, but in one of these they formed a very small percentage of the student group. Universities visited were: California and Oregon on the Pacific Coast; Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, and Utah in the Rocky Mountain region; Florida, Louisiana, and North Carolina in the South;

TABLE I. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN THIRTEEN "STUDENT HONORS." (Listed in the order of ranking given them by men students. "R" indicates Rank; "W" indicates Weight.)

	Men Students		Women Students		Profs.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Membership in senior scholastic honor society (Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Sigma Xi, etc.)	1	87.0	1	91.9	2	76.6	1	85.9	1	61.5
2. Student body president	2	84.5	3	85.6	3	59.6	3	78.2	3	52.6
3. Graduation "with honors"	3	84.4	3	85.6	1	78.4	2	85.3	2	60.3
4. Membership in senior honor society such as "Mortar Board," "Blue Key," etc.	4	75.7	2	89.2	4	56.7	5	67.3	4	51.3
5. Editor of year book or university paper	5	73.5	5	77.6	5	56.1	4	67.9	5	50.0
6. President of junior class	6	69.1	6	68.9	8	45.0	7	54.4	10	30.8
7. To be voted the most popular man or woman of senior class	7	64.7	7	65.5	11	36.3	11	39.7	8	33.3
8. Captain of athletic or gym team	8	63.0	8	62.4	9	43.3	8	51.9	9	32.1
9. President of social fraternity or of "Independents" or "Barbs" or "Phrateres"	9	61.4	9	60.6	10	39.8	10	44.2	11	24.4
10. Business manager of a student activity	10	59.2	10	58.6	7	46.8	8	51.9	6	41.0
11. Membership in dramatic, debating, musical, writing, or similar organization	11	56.4	11	56.2	6	51.5	6	59.0	7	34.6
12. Cheer leader	12	45.4	12	46.2	12	28.1	12	32.7	12	19.2
13. Drum major or "majorette"	13	39.8	13	39.0	13	26.3	13	31.4	13	17.9
Range	47.2		52.9		57.9		54.5		43.6	

Maryland and Vermont in the Northeast; and Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin in the Middle West. It is felt that by throwing measures from these institutions together results are obtained which represent campus attitudes rather well over the entire country. This conclusion is strength-

ened by the fact that results in each of the five regions just named conform generally to the patterns set by the country as a whole.

Subsequently, the "sophomore scales" were sent to 112 professors in twenty-eight state universities who were the heads of the departments of chemistry, English, French, and

TABLE II. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN SEVEN "IMAGINARY COURSES" OR COURSES OF STUDY

	Men Students		Women Students		Profs.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. A course of study leading to a mastery of an academic, technical, or scientific field and its sources, so that at its conclusion the student may account himself something of a specialist in this field, and feel properly prepared to follow it throughout a lifetime, if he so desires.	1	76.2	1	80.0	1	80.7	2	80.1	4	64.1
2. A course intended to give particular attention to the development of good mental habits—ability to concentrate; to "apply" oneself; to systematize; to perform intellectual labor efficiently, rapidly, and yet persistently.	2	70.6	2	76.1	2	78.9	4	67.9	1	82.1
3. A course covering fundamental principles of business and professional life—the development of attitudes and habits necessary to professional success; the elements of proper investment procedure; elementary techniques in the fields of banking, brokerage, care and transfer of properties, and so forth—which all successful business men and women need to know.	3	67.1	4	69.6	5	57.3	5	61.5	2	70.5
4. A course offering special training in the social amenities, developing the ability to meet people well, to find and choose the proper acquaintances, and "to make one's way" in the proper sense.	4	65.1	5	68.9	7	47.4	7	50.6	6	52.6
5. A course dealing with public problems and their solutions, those which have to do with the general welfare of the social group—involving an attack upon political, economic, racial, and other questions of the day.	5	64.6	3	70.2	3	78.3	1	83.3	5	59.0
6. A course devoted to problems arising in the personal development of the individual—appreciation of aesthetic or artistic values, problems of conduct, and the development of a philosophy of life.	6	64.2	6	68.5	4	75.4	3	76.9	3	69.2
7. A course designed to promote, to the fullest degree possible, the physical perfection of the individual, developing his resources and physical energy, building up permanent bases of health, and making for physical strength and agility.	7	58.6	7	59.8	6	53.8	5	61.5	7	44.9
Range	17.6		20.2		33.3		32.7		37.2	

political science in each; to 112 deans who were administrative heads of Colleges of Commerce, Education, Engineering, and Liberal Arts in the same institutions; and to 104 regents or trustees. Returns were received from 57 professors, 52 deans, and 26 trustees. No Thurstone scales were used among these three groups.

was given a weight of 3, each "2" a weight of 2, and each "3" a weight of 1. Thus, if each of 293 men had given Item 1 in Scale I a rank of 1, it would have had a total weight of 879 (3×293), but its total weight was found to be only 765 or 87.0 percent of the possible heaviest weighting. At the other end of the scale, Item 13 received a

TABLE III. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN TEN OF THE "PRINCIPAL STRENGTHS" AND SIX OF THE "PRINCIPAL WEAKNESSES" OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ACTIVITIES.

	<i>Strengths</i>									
	Men Students		Women Students		Profs.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Physical or social development	1	74.4	2	76.2	1	60.2	1	67.9	7	39.7
2. School spirit	2	71.8	1	80.2	4	49.1	5	51.9	4	46.2
3. Making valuable contacts	3	69.1	4	69.6	5	48.5	4	53.2	3	47.4
4. Helping student get college education	4	67.7	6	66.1	7	43.9	8	47.4	1	59.0
5. Giving worthwhile practical experience	5	65.2	3	71.3	2	56.7	2	62.8	2	51.3
6. Advertising the institution among prospective students	6	63.6	8	62.3	10	40.4	7	48.7	7	39.7
7. Gaining support of citizens for institution	6	63.6	7	65.6	3	50.9	3	58.8	4	46.2
8. Financial help for other institutional enterprises	8	62.3	9	60.8	8	43.3	10	40.4	10	26.9
9. Relaxation from studies	8	62.3	5	68.5	6	46.8	6	50.6	9	30.8
10. Developing the "fighting spirit" of participants	10	54.9	10	52.9	9	42.1	9	43.6	6	43.5
<i>Range</i>		19.5		27.3		19.8		27.5		32.1
	<i>Weaknesses</i>									
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Distraction from studies	1	73.5	2	72.1	1	73.7	1	81.4	1	50.0
2. Small number participating	2	66.3	1	72.8	2	60.8	2	76.9	2	48.7
3. Commercialization of college life	3	61.1	3	69.3	4	59.6	4	65.4	5	43.6
4. Overemphasis on competition	4	60.8	4	66.4	2	60.8	3	66.0	2	48.7
5. Degradation of college "ideals"	5	49.6	6	48.9	6	46.2	5	50.0	2	48.7
6. Introduction of undesirables among student body	6	47.7	5	49.6	5	48.0	5	50.0	6	41.0
<i>Range</i>		25.8		23.2		26.5		31.4		9.0

On each of the tabulations that follow the items are listed in the order of their ranking by men students. (Effort was made, of course, to list items in indiscriminate order on the original scales.) Then follow rankings by women students, professors, deans, and trustees in the order named. Following each column of ranks is one showing the percentage weighting given each item. In computing these figures, each ranking of "1"

total weight by all men students of only 350, or 39.8 percent of 879. This difference between highest and lowest weighting by each group is indicated as the "range." The greatest range in Table I is among the professors—57.9. The variations of this figure from group to group are sometimes striking. Weighting could not be computed on Tables VII and VIII. The scales may be grouped under four general headings, as follows: I,

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II, and III—Attitudes toward Campus Problems; IV and V—Attitudes toward Life Objectives; VI and VII—Political and Social Attitudes; and VIII—Religious Attitudes.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CAMPUS PROBLEMS

In Table I it is interesting that though all groups except professors rank membership in the senior scholastic honor society first—above graduation “with honors”—there is a difference of 30.4 percent in the weighting given it by women students and trustees. The student body presidency ranks noticeably

and the concern of deans about public problems. Trustees and men students are inclined to rank the individualistic development resulting from college work as more important than growth of a sensitivity to social problems. Women students, professors, and deans, apparently, are more socially-minded. It can probably be safely predicted that the present war and its aftermath will affect the attitude of men students here indicated. Other studies by the author tend to indicate that the trustees' stress upon the importance of such a “course” as described in Item 3 would

TABLE IV. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN THIRTEEN VOCATIONS ON THE BASIS OF “ADMIRATION FOR THEM”

	Men Students		Women Students		Profs.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Physician	1	91.0	1	93.4	2	75.4	1	74.3	1	74.4
2. Research scientist	2	86.0	2	88.1	1	77.8	1	74.3	5	64.1
3. Minister	3	75.3	5	77.0	7	56.1	8	57.7	6	57.7
4. University professor	4	74.9	4	79.0	3	71.3	3	69.9	3	66.7
5. Painter, sculptor, or musician	5	72.9	3	80.8	4	67.8	5	66.7	8	44.9
6. Business executive	6	68.1	9	63.6	8	52.6	7	60.9	4	65.4
7. Writer	7	66.8	6	75.8	4	67.8	6	62.2	8	44.9
8. Military officer	8	64.6	8	65.3	10	46.2	9	50.6	7	46.2
9. Lawyer	9	61.3	7	69.7	9	49.7	10	43.6	10	43.6
10. Public school teacher	10	58.0	10	61.5	6	62.0	3	69.9	2	67.8
11. Movie actor or actress	11	49.7	12	42.7	12	33.9	12	35.9	12	25.6
12. Professional golfer	12	46.4	13	41.7	13	29.2	13	32.1	13	21.8
13. Stenographer in government office	13	45.1	11	46.0	11	38.6	11	42.3	11	30.8
Range	45.9		51.7		46.6		42.2		52.6	

high among all groups, but there is a considerable variation among students and adult groups as to “the most popular man or woman,” a business managership, and the presidency of a social organization. Men students as a group rank activity in the arts low. At the lower end of the scale, the difference in the assignment of weightings among students and trustees is noticeable; and the relatively high weighting of drum majors and majorettes by the college deans is a bit puzzling.

Worth observing in Table II are: The low range among students' attitudes compared with those of older groups, the more practical outlook of trustees with respect to Item 3, yet their relatively higher rating of Item 6,

be duplicated in ratings by parents generally.

In Table III the disagreement of older groups with students is again noticeable, particularly that of trustees regarding Item 1 among “Strengths” and on the part of all three older groups in relation to Item 2 of the same table. It may be pointed out, too, that “commercialization” receives a substantially lighter degree of disapproval from trustees than from any of the others. However, they agree with deans and professors in ranking the overemphasis upon competition high as a weakness. Deans as a group apparently agree more fully among themselves in disapproval of the distracting qualities of intercollegiate activities than do any other group. Also, it should be noted that

though they rank "Overemphasis upon competition" higher than commercialization, the weighting of the latter (66.0) is very slightly below the other. Women students are the ones who agree most completely in deploring competition and commercialization.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE OBJECTIVES

Table IV is intended to give some insight into attitudes toward vocations. Greatest variations occur between rankings of women

shown, of course, by numerous surveys of this and other kinds.

In Table V, as originally given out for rating, four "objectives" were listed, namely: "A good income," "Home and children," "Social life," and "Achievement." The remainder of the objectives were all listed under "Achievement." However, rating numbers were placed opposite both the heading "Achievement" and all its six subheadings, so all are listed here, with the understand-

TABLE V. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN TEN "LIFE OBJECTIVES"

	Men Students		Women Students		Prof.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Home and children	1	87.0	1	92.5	2	81.3	2	87.2	1	79.5
2. Achievement	2	85.7	3	87.6	3	73.7	4	79.5	3	74.4
3. To live a "good life"	3	83.2	2	88.6	1	83.0	1	88.5	2	76.9
4. A good income	4	77.9	5	77.6	7	49.1	7	60.2	7	53.8
5. To improve social conditions	5	70.6	4	77.9	5	71.9	3	84.0	4	62.8
6. To attain professional eminence	6	68.6	7	61.0	6	64.3	5	71.2	5	55.1
7. Social life	7	64.2	6	63.6	9	45.0	8	50.6	8	41.0
8. To attain prestige and influence	8	61.9	9	53.8	8	47.4	9	50.0	10	33.3
9. To leave a recorded heritage (writing, art, music, research, etc.)	9	56.4	8	59.5	4	73.1	6	67.3	5	55.1
10. To leave one's family a sizeable estate	10	56.1	10	50.7	10	39.8	10	43.6	9	38.5
Range	30.9		41.8		43.2		44.9		46.2	

and of trustees with respect to the artist, the business executive, and the public school teacher. However, differences in weighting among women and trustees for these three vocations are striking only in the case of "painter, sculptor, or musician." Here it amounts to 35.9. The trustees' "admiration" for the public school teacher is probably of a more sentimental kind than that of either students or college deans and teachers. It can be remarked that the military officer would at present (1943) probably rank considerably higher than when the survey was made. Other points of interest are the rating of the lawyer compared with that of the physician, high rating of the clergy among students as compared with that of the older groups, and the higher rating of Hollywood by men students than by women students. That the admiration here shown for the physician is almost universal among Americans has been

ing that "Achievement" is a more inclusive term than any of the six subheads.

Here lies refutation of the statement that university women are not interested in family life. Not only do they give it first rank; they are practically unanimous in placing it first. Men students also give it first rank, but not quite so high a weighting. "Achievement" and the "good life" tie for second and third places. Curiously, the young people give more weight to a "good income" than do any of the older groups. It is not surprising to see college professors account it a matter of less importance than several others, but even the trustees gave it a relatively low rating. At the same time, amassing "a sizeable estate" as a life objective ranks lowest among students, professors, and deans, and only next to last among trustees, though again students give it relatively greater weight. The academic bent is manifest once

more in the rating given by professors to "a recorded heritage." "Social life" receives from students considerably higher rank than from the adult groups.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

At the heading of Table VI in the original form appeared the statement: "Assumed: Following the war, America is to take leadership as the most powerful nation in the world. This leadership should be expressed as follows": Since it was certain that at least one of these objectives would not be approved with a positive weighting by some individuals, a "o" was added to the other three regular weightings. This, of course, accounts for the greater range found in the weightings of this scale as compared with others.

follow that there should be world-wide disarmament (Item 8) nor that the peace should be achieved by withdrawing from world entanglements (Item 11). Whatever the source of the cry for isolation being raised in those days, there is no evidence here that it was coming from university groups. The radical proposal that capitalism be overthrown ranked lowest in all but one group's responses, though, on the other hand, the strengthening of American financial leadership also received relatively low ranking except among trustees. That Item 4—"promoting an exchange of teachers and students among countries"—should receive a relatively high ranking among all groups is noteworthy, as is the importance of scientific research among all five groups, though the advancement of technology—the social ap-

TABLE VI. RANKS AND WEIGHTS GIVEN TWELVE POSSIBLE AVENUES FOR AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FOLLOWING THE WAR.

	Men Students		Women Students		Profs.		Deans		Trustees	
	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W
1. Establishing permanent peace throughout the world	1	86.3	1	87.3	1	84.2	1	90.4	1	75.6
2. Establishing international courts and processes of arbitration	2	75.9	2	72.4	2	80.7	2	87.2	2	65.4
3. Encouragement of pure scientific research	3	65.2	4	59.1	4	59.6	3	55.8	3	53.8
4. Promoting an exchange of teachers and students among countries	4	59.3	5	55.3	3	64.3	4	54.5	4	52.6
5. Establishment of democracy throughout the world	5	55.3	3	62.4	8	45.0	7	46.2	6	44.8
6. Advancement of technology	6	54.7	9	43.0	7	47.4	5	52.6	8	30.8
7. Abolishment of poverty	7	51.5	6	51.3	5	54.4	7	46.2	7	42.3
8. Carrying out a program of complete world-wide disarmament	8	51.0	6	51.3	8	45.0	9	36.5	10	20.5
9. Encouragement of artists, writers, musicians, etc.	9	49.9	8	50.7	6	53.2	6	51.9	8	30.8
10. Strengthening American financial leadership	10	40.2	10	32.5	10	29.8	10	25.6	5	46.2
11. Withdrawing from world entanglements	11	21.3	11	31.3	11	9.9	12	4.5	11	14.1
12. Overthrowing capitalism	12	18.2	12	29.2	12	7.0	11	8.3	12	0.0
Range	68.1		58.1		77.2		82.1		75.6	

This is the first time complete agreement among the five groups in the ranking of Items 1 and 2 has been found. In the fall of 1941 and the spring of 1942 the desire for peace was uppermost in the minds of all groups. But it is worth noting that it did not directly

plication of pure science—falls from three to five ranks lower.

As pointed out above, the scales in Tables VII and VIII are from the series edited by L. L. Thurstone. In the scale in Table VII a few question marks were placed opposite

such statements as Nos. 6, 7, 8, 11, and 13, but not enough to warrant recording.

Both men and women students prove themselves to be conservative. They are well agreed that the Constitution is only a human document (Statement 3), but regard protection of its as almost a sacred obligation (Statement 8). They do not believe it perfect (Statement 7), yet it is a model for all

evident in the top five rankings of each group. The first rank among the women is given the statement that ascribes symbolic meaning to the word God (Statement 2), and Statement 1 ("God is the heavenly Father") shares second rank among the women with Statement 11 ("God is the eternal problem and the eternal quest of mankind"). Statement 5 is ranked one step

TABLE VII. RANKINGS IN TERMS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT BY MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS OF 21 STATEMENTS REGARDING THE CONSTITUTION. (✓ indicates agreement with statement; × indicates disagreement.)

	Men		Women	
	✓	×	✓	×
1. The Constitution should be changed only after great deliberation and thought.	1	21	1	21
2. We should be cautious in suggesting changes in the Constitution.	2	20	2	20
3. The Constitution is after all only a human document.	3	19	5	17
4. Let us keep the Constitution even though it may be weak in places.	4	18	3	19
5. I think there may be reasons for changing the Constitution.	5	17	3	18
6. We must protect our Constitution against the radicals.	6	16	6	16
7. The Constitution is not so perfect as most people think.	7	15	8	14
8. I'd give my life to preserve the Constitution.	8	14	9	13
9. Our Constitution is a model for all other governments to follow.	9	13	7	15
10. Destructive criticism of the Constitution should be allowed.	10	12	10	12
11. All right-thinking Americans believe heart and soul in the Constitution.	11	11	11	11
12. Any foreigner who criticizes our Constitution should not be allowed to become a citizen.	12	9	12	10
13. The fundamental principles of our Constitution could be greatly improved.	13	9	14	8
14. Only the authorities should suggest changes in the Constitution.	14	8	13	9
15. Our industrial civilization requires a new Constitution.	15	7	16	7
16. Public-school students should avoid all criticism of the Constitution.	16	6	15	6
17. I will oppose every attempt to revise the Constitution.	17	5	18	4
18. Our present Constitution is entirely inadequate.	18	4	19	4
19. In schools we should present only the strong points of the Constitution.	19	3	17	3
20. The sooner we get a new Constitution, the better.	20	1	20	2
21. The Constitution should be overthrown.	21	1	21	1

other governments to follow (Statement 9). They think there may be reasons for changing it (Statement 5), yet we should be cautious in suggesting changes (Statement 2). They do not rally to the proposal that public-school students should avoid all criticism of it (Statement 16), yet they agree that we must protect it against radicals (Statement 6).

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Here again (Table VIII) both sexes tend to be conservative, but the women students appear to be a bit less literalistic in their interpretations than do the men. This is

higher by the women's votes than by the men's. On the other hand, the degree to which both men and women are in disagreement with such statements as "God is a myth," or "God is an unreasonable product of the imagination," or "God is a useless term," (24, 25, 27) refute the charge that modern university students are completely irreligious.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The table on which there was closest agreement among all groups is Table I, dealing with student honors; that on which there was widest disagreement is the first section of Table III, concerned with the strengths of

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TABLE VIII. RANKINGS IN TERMS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT BY MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS OF 27 DEFINITIONS OF GOD BY MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS (✓ indicates agreement; × indicates disagreement; ? indicates doubt.)

	Men			Women		
	✓	×	?	✓	×	?
1. God is the heavenly Father.	1	26	22	2	26	20
2. God is the symbol of the highest values of life, whether one has a definite concept or not.	2	27	26	1	27	25
3. God is the Creator and Sustainer of the universe.	3	23	16	5	23	12
4. God is the Lord of heaven and earth, almighty, eternal, infinite, perfect.	4	25	16	7	22	17
5. God is the creative force of the universe manifest in law, beauty, truth, and moral force.	5	21	15	4	23	12
6. God is the abiding spirit of love in the world.	6	22	14	5	23	17
7. God is the supreme personality and Jesus is His best representative.	7	18	13	9	19	8
8. God is the Trinity—Father, Son and Holy Spirit.	8	20	3	11	20	11
9. God is the best hypothesis man has to explain life as he finds it.	9	19	21	12	16	12
10. God is the supernatural power that governs all things.	10	15	11	10	14	8
11. God is the eternal problem and the eternal quest of mankind.	11	24	12	2	21	24
12. God is Nature working in natural laws.	12	17	19	8	18	8
13. God is the symbol of man's assurance that the universe supports his struggle for the largest social values of humanity.	13	13	5	15	14	3
14. God is purposive will in the on-going process of life.	14	14	1	14	16	1
15. God is the supreme integrating personality of our universe with whom man may have both personal and social relationships by recognition of the underlying laws of life.	15	15	2	18	11	6
16. God is the name given to the underlying, integrating reality of life.	16	10	5	21	10	12
17. God is the personified, interblended life of humanity.	17	11	3	13	13	4
18. God is a definite person to whom we can pray and who answers prayer.	18	5	10	19	6	16
19. God is the universal mind working through universal laws.	18	11	5	22	11	2
20. God is a hypothesis to explain the unknowable.	20	9	24	17	7	22
21. God as a personal force or being in the universe is entirely outside any scientific view of the universe.	21	7	25	19	5	19
22. God is the personality producing force in the world.	21	6	8	23	8	5
23. God is the determiner of destiny.	23	8	8	16	8	7
24. God is a myth.	24	3	19	26	2	20
25. God as a personal, controlling, supernatural power is an unreasonable product of the imagination.	25	2	22	24	4	26
26. God is the name for a wish.	26	4	18	25	3	22
27. God is a useless term in modern life.	27	1	27	27	1	27

intercollegiate activities. The items on which there was complete agreement among all groups are statements 1 and 2 of Table VI, while the ranking of the public school teacher in Table IV caused greatest disagreement.

The greatest range in weightings (82.1) is to be found among deans in Table VI—the same table in which there was greatest agreement with respect to Items 1 and 2, though the reader should be reminded that greater latitude here is possible owing to the introduction of the "o" in the weightings. The smallest range appears in the weightings of "imaginary courses" (Table II) by men students—17.6. The greatest average range of all weightings is found among the deans—

45.0; the smallest average range among the men students—36.4.

The attitudes of men students and those of women students follow surprisingly similar patterns. Manifestly other influences than sex have greater potency in judgments of these kinds. On the whole, the points of view expressed would probably be adjudged wholesome by the majority of American citizens, and there is no reason to doubt their sincerity. If there are serious defects in university life and practice they cannot be traced to attitudes of the majority of students, at least of the sophomore level, as here measured.

GERMAN IMMIGRANT PROBLEMS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PENNSYLVANIA AS REFLECTED IN TROUBLE ADVERTISEMENTS*

OTTO POLLAK

University of Pennsylvania

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

IT is the purpose of this study to investigate the problems which confronted the German settlers in 18th century Pennsylvania as far as they found reflection in the immigrant press. Two media were used for this investigation: Christoph Saur's *Pennsylvanische Berichte oder Sammlung Wichtigster Nachrichten aus dem Natur-und Kirchenreich* for the years 1753 to 1762 and Heinrich Miller's *Der Woechentliche Philadelphiaische Staatsbote Mit den neuesten Fremden und Einheimisch-Politischen Nachrichten Samt den von Zeit zu Zeit in der Kirchen und Gelehrten Welt sich ereignenden Merkwürdigkeiten* for the years 1762 and 1767-1773. In 1768 there was a change of name of this paper and it was continued as *Der Woechentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote* keeping the same cumbersome subtitle as before. Thus, the period investigated covers about the third quarter of the 18th century. The time limitation of the material is due to the fact that because of the war situation only duplicate material in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society was accessible to the writer, the complete sets having been removed for the duration.

THE SOURCE MATERIAL

The study was begun in the expectation that trouble letters and news items would form the major source of information. However, this was not so. Trouble letters are not to be found in the German language press of that period, and the news items dealt mostly with foreign affairs and other ques-

tions of general political interest. Only the advertisements dealt with problems concerning the immigrant group to such an extent that an analysis seemed to promise satisfactory results. The writer decided, therefore, to focus his investigation on this type of source material. A large number of the advertisements was concerned with sales offers and would have offered more to the economist and the student of propaganda. In this group only sales advertisements regarding redemptioners and servants' time, as well as school advertisements, contained material of interest to the writer, but there were considerable numbers of other advertisements more immediately related to the concern of the sociologist such as announcements of escapes of indentured servants, searches for relatives, desertions of wives, etc. The main emphasis of this study is directed at these latter types of advertisements because they deal with situations of stress characteristic of social maladjustment. Occasionally an editorial, and in one case, a commercial document are drawn upon for supplementation. As a means for the communication of factual information advertisements have existed from earliest times.¹ Only due to high pressure salesmanship which started around 1890 have they come to be considered as questionable sources of such information.² Even this condemnation of present day advertisements is only partly justified because it disregards two important facts, namely, that many advertisements have no sales purpose and that even sales advertisements have to contain at least partly correct information for reasons

¹ William Albigh, *Public Opinion*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939, p. 305.

² Richard T. Lapierre and Paul R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York and London, 1936, p. 457.

*I am indebted for the suggestion of this study and guidance in the conduct of the research work to Dr. J. P. Shalloo of the University of Pennsylvania. [For abstract see summary at end.—Ed.]

of efficiency. The Lost and Found columns, birth and death notices, escape notices, etc., by their very purpose have to contain reliable information, and even sales advertisements state things which can be accepted as correct information such as the general type of good or service offered, the price asked, and the scientifically interesting fact that offers of such a type were made. Thus, for purposes of sociological analysis advertisements are important and in many respects reliable sources of general and particularly historical communication research, provided that the reliability of their content is being evaluated according to their purpose and to the research question involved. It is the intention of the writer to show by the illustrations of this study that they have not been given the attention which they deserve.

The advertisements used in this investigation are: (1) notices of sales of redemptioners, (2) notices of escapes of indentured servants, (3) searches for relatives, (4) notices regarding marital separations, (5) offers of mail transportation from individuals going to Europe, (6) notices regarding mail brought to America by recent arrivals, and (7) offers of language instruction.

They were selected on the basis of the following criteria: The content had to reveal a situation which imposed at least potential hardships on the immigrant. The advertisement had to be of a type which occurred repeatedly in the newspapers investigated. Every advertisement analyzed had to be matched by at least one other advertisement connected with the same problem but inserted in another year of the period covered. On that basis 27 advertisements were selected for analysis as representative of the much larger numbers falling in the categories mentioned above.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to evaluate the content of the newspaper material under discussion it is necessary to keep in mind that by 1742 the first wave of German immigration had come to a standstill and—with the interruption of the period of 1749-1753—did not resume un-

til the defeat of France in the Seven Years' War.³ Thus, during a considerable part of the period studied the influx of European immigrants had more or less come to an end and the shortage of manpower exerted considerable influence on the situation of immigrants, particularly of those who were indentured servants. Since the speculative character of transportation in the 18th century and its abuses forced many immigrants in such servitude,⁴ the problems of this group may be considered as of major social importance.

THE FINDINGS

It is the plan of this study to present the problems which beset the early German immigrant in the chronological order of their probable occurrence by means of an analysis of advertisements which arose out of the various situations consecutively confronting the newcomer. These situations will be subsumed under these three headings indicating different phases in the immigrant's career: Upon Arrival, While Indentured, After Regaining Freedom.

Upon Arrival: Many of the 18th century immigrants from the Palatinate and Switzerland started without the means for transportation, and numbers of those who started with means lost their money and other belongings through accidents of travel.⁵ In both cases they were unable to leave the ship before having settled the fare. The common solution for the immigrants was to bind themselves or their children into servitude

³Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, p. 51.

⁴Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936, p. 34. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1925, p. 52. Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, translated by Carl T. Eben, Philadelphia, John Jos. McVey, 1898, pp. 18, 25, and 41. Cheesman, A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, John Jos. McVey, 1926, p. 177.

⁵Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1901, p. 77. Gottlieb Mittelberger, l.c., p. 27. Henry Pratt Fairchild, l.c., p. 44.

for a number of years,⁶ and the ship captains publicly advertised their passengers accordingly.

Due to the Seven Years' War we have comparatively few ships bringing new immigrants for a number of years and such advertisements, therefore, come mostly from the later part of the period under discussion when the traffic resumed greater size.

[1] Newly arrived Germans

Just arrived from Rotterdam, the ship *Sally*, Captain Osman, with approximately 200 Germans. All of them are healthy and willing to come to arrangements with somebody for their fares. For particulars get in touch with Samuel Howell of Water Street or with the captain on the ship which lies just opposite Chestnut Street. [Staatsbote, 11-6-1770].⁷

[2] German People

Philadelphia, September 26, 1773

The ship *Union*, Captain Andreas Bryson, has just arrived with 240 healthy Germans, mostly young people whose passage has to be paid to Robert Ritchie in his warehouse on Meases Warf near to which the ship lies, or to the captain on board ship. [Staatsbote, 10-5-1773]

What information can we derive from advertisements of this type without incurring the risk of strained interpretation in the sense of Blumer's argument regarding "The Polish Peasant"?⁸ First of all, the headline is characteristic; the eyecatch stresses the nationality of the new arrivals. If we consider that we are dealing with German language newspapers, the conclusion can be reached that the German master was expected to prefer German servants. Here we have an instance of an early segregation pattern which shows that the appeal of the in-group regarding language facility and emotional familiarity has existed long before it found its expression in its present day forms. We also see the emphasis being put on the physical condition of the arrivals. We may conclude that the suspicion of new arrivals being often unfit for physical exertion was

⁶ Maurice R. Davie, I.c., p. 33.

⁷ All advertisements quoted are translated by the writer.

⁸ Herbert Blumer: *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's. The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1939, p. 29.

to be met by that piece of sales talk and that this would not have been necessary if such suspicion had not existed among the potential masters to whom these advertisements were addressed. We further see that middlemen had inserted themselves in this trade and that probably the decisive persons in the deal of indenture were the masters on one side and the captains or local agents on the other, but not the newcomers, which meant that the personal interests of the immigrants were largely disregarded. The amount of personal hardship thus caused will be illustrated by other advertisements to be discussed later.

Thus we may say that these advertisements seem to indicate that German immigrants who arrived without means and had to indenture themselves were probably directed toward points of already existing German settlements, that their chances of indenture were bad if they were not in good physical condition, which was probably often enough the case to warrant a general suspicion in this respect, and that they had little if any say regarding their indenture.

While Indentured: Even if the actuality of initial indenture should have proved satisfactory this state of affairs was subject to change. The master could sell the indentured servant for the remainder of the time of servitude then open. The following samples throw light on this fact.

[3] To be sold

a girl servant in Philadelphia who has yet six years and six months to serve. She is about 20 years old. Persons interested may learn from the printer where she is. [Berichte, 5-14-1757]

[4] To be sold

an indentured German girl who has yet three years and three months to serve. She is at present at the Philadelphia Jail. However, she shall not with my knowledge and consent be sold to anybody in the city or nearby but to the frontier district where it is not likely that one finds a neighbor who will conspire with a servant against his fulfilling his obligation. Whoever has a mind to buy this girl may apply to the gaol keeper or to me. Philadelphia, August 26, 1762. Ludwig Weiss. [Staatsbote, 8-29-1762]

[5] To be sold

an indentured German girl's time. She is about thirteen years old and has therefore another

five years to serve. She is strong, can do some work, and is now in the city. But since she has been brought up in the country she would fit in better there. The name of her master can be secured from the editor of this journal. [Staatsbote, 9-15-1772]

If a change in public opinion is expressed in changes of formulation, the wording of these advertisements indicate a betterment in the status of indentured servants. In 1757 and in 1762, the sales object is the girl herself, in 1772 it is the girl's time. Economically speaking the proposition is the same; the change in formulation may deserve attention. None of the advertisements takes note of family or other ties which might be severed by the sale and the local change in residence involved. In two instances the change of the setting is even mentioned as the aim of the sales offer. We may wonder about the unhappiness of the thirteen year old who was transplanted into a city setting in which she did not fit, where she was not given a sufficient chance to adjust, and from which she was to be uprooted again according to her master's discretion. The most significant story, however, is told by the advertisement of the master who obviously had experienced some difficulty in preventing his servant from being talked into running away by neighbors and who got so angry on this account that he had to pour out his indignation in the advertisement. Whether scarcity of manpower or his treatment of the girl had induced the neighbors to help her run away is open to speculation, but it is clear that it was in his power to force her into the wilderness by a sale deliberately uprooting her. We can well imagine how much personal hardship due to enforced dislocation these sales of servants' time may have often involved.

Escape notices throw light upon another social problem of the period. The opinion has been expressed that the great majority of runaways were Irish and English and that this was due to the fact that many of the immigrants from Great Britain were composed of the shiftless people then existing in the cities of that country while the majority of the German colonists came from

more settled and stable population groups.⁹

This opinion was based on an investigation of the English language papers *Packet* and *Gazette* which did not reflect the problems of the German settlers. Perusal of the German language press, however, reveals the fallacy of this conclusion.

Advertisements regarding lost and stolen cattle and escape notices regarding indentured servants take an outstanding place in the periodicals investigated. There is hardly an issue that does not contain one or more such advertisements. The following samples are typical of these notices.

[6] Johannes Zerpel at the Trapp, Philadelphia County, gives notice that a German servant-boy ran away from him on the 8th inst. His name is Bernhart Zimmerman, he is seventeen years old, tall for his age, very pale, has smallpox scars and walks with a bent in his knees. His hair is dark brown. He has a new grey shirt of rough material and gray pants, another pair of unbleached pants, a new felt hat, and speaks a rather good English. Whoever takes him into custody so that his master may have him back or returns him shall receive four pounds and reasonable expenses. [Berichte, 9-1-1754]

[7] Conrad Jung, of "The Blue Ball" on Conostoga Road, gives notice of the escape of a servant man, named Adam Grund. When leaving he had a black brown shirt and pants with yellow brass buttons, a new hat, brown stockings, good shoes, blue breast cloth and a new yellow silk scarf. He has a sister at Allemengel and a son serving at Great Schwadara. Perhaps he went there. He is a tough tall man with thick brown hair, limps, and has a small face with large eyes, 45 years old. Forty shillings and expenses. [Berichte, 7-16-1756]

[8] 5 Pounds reward to him who takes into custody a man, named Jacob Berckle, a well built manperson of fresh reddish face and black hair. When he left, he had a new blue shirt, a red breast cloth, blue breeches, white woolen stockings, good shoes with squareshaped yellow buckles. He is approximately 27 years old, speaks a good English and German, is of German birth, and has

⁹Karl Frederick Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, The Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Company, New Haven, 1901, p. 81. Cheesman A. Herricks, l.c., p. 230.

served as an indentured servant for Christoph Zimmer nine years ago. Whoever takes said Jacob into custody or turns him over to a jail and informs Johann Ernst Albrecht who resides across the Susquehanna in York City, Mannheim Township, shall get the above mentioned 5 Pounds and reasonable expenses. Johann Ernst Albrecht. [Staatsbote, 7-5-1762, 7-12-1762, 7-19-1762]

[9] A runaway servant

On October 30, a servant named Nicolaus Klein ran away from the subscriber who resides in Manor Township on the Susquehanna. When he left he had a well-worn hat, an old blue shirt, a white breast cloth, and different buckles on his shoes, one of steel and one of brass. He speaks German and English. Whoever takes him into custody and turns him over to Philipp Krafft in Lancaster shall have ten shillings and reasonable expenses. Georg Dosch. [Berichte, 11-8-1762, 11-15-1762, 11-22-1762]

[10] Run away on April 26, from Johannes Baus who lives on the place formerly belonging to Rudolf Bonner at Madetschi an indentured German boy or servant, named Peter Busch, between 14 and 15 years old, not tall for his age, but rather stocky. He has short cut hair and a full reddish face. When he left he wore a grey felt hat, a grey shirt and leather pants. He speaks English and German and is supposed to be in Philadelphia. If asked by those who recognize him what he does in town he answers that he has helped a butcher to drive sheep down. Whoever gives information about him and returns him to his master or to Rudolf Bonner on Second Street in Philadelphia shall be paid expenses and twenty shillings. Johannes Baus. [Staatsbote, 5-10-1762, 5-17-1762, 5-24-1762]

The regular occurrence of these advertisements as well as their more or less standardized form suggests that such escapes happened quite frequently and thus represented a social problem. The notices contain always the promise of a reward and of compensation for expenditure incurred by the person who returns the servant to his master. Invariably, there is a description of the clothes which the servant wore when he left. Equally, the nationality and the name of the servant are ever recurrent items. We further find an indication of the languages which the servant spoke and a description of his physical ap-

pearance, particularly of height and complexion as well as of special characteristics such as scars, etc. Another part of the standard content of these escape notices is the date of the escape.

We get a confirmation of the segregation pattern already indicated by the emphasis on nationality in the sales advertisements. We can see that runaways usually had a command of both languages, Americanization being expressed in the language competence of the escapee regarding English although we have no proof that this was always so. This is a rather interesting consequence of the apprenticeship character of indenture¹⁰ and shows the positive results of this initial stage in an unexpected manifestation. It can well be understood that a servant who wanted to escape had to have enough language facility to leave the district of German concentration in which he found himself indentured. This is another confirmation of the observation that immigrants in general have to undergo a period of apprenticeship in their new country before being able to function adequately even if it be a function outside the realm of law.

What were the reasons for these escapes? The advertisements do not tell. We may assume that individual instances of mistreatment may have prompted some servants to run away, but for this we have no evidence in the advertisement material of this study. One aspect of human hardship involved in the institution of indenture, however, is apparent. The enforced separation of family members due to the nature of the sales and resales of redemptioners may have caused a number of escapes. This seems to have been known to some masters as item No. 7 indicates. The master indicates the probability of the servant having directed his steps toward the place where his son was serving.

That unfair treatment did happen is stated in a comment which Christoph Saur, the German printer of Germantown, could not help adding to an escape notice in August 1761. It ran like this.

If the masters more often would treat their

¹⁰ Marcus Lee Hansen, *l.c.*, p. 16.

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Herrick,

servants fairly and would consider that they too have a Lord in heaven after Col. 4 vers. 1, many servants would not think of running away, but avarice is the root of all evil. [Berichte, 8-14-1761 and 8-28-1761]

It is interesting to note the degree of independence revealed by this comment of a newspaper editor who added these lines to an escape notice which had been inserted in his paper and whose advertisement columns were filled with such notices.

As to possible motivation of an economic nature an editorial of Christoph Saur in the *Berichte* of 2-13-1761 gives us some information. The editorial comments upon the inclination of Germans to get negro slaves and begins thus:

It has been observed with great regret that now also the Germans start out on the negro traffic because they cannot get German servants anymore; and although they make much money themselves do not want to pay a living wage to a free man or girl for help.

Here we have an indication of the manpower shortage created by the stoppage of immigration in consequence of the Seven Years' War. We are probably safe in assuming that manpower shortage meant more economic opportunity for everybody in the colony. The allurements of opportunity in this period must have been felt particularly strongly since according to this comment indenture meant economic exploitation of the newcomers. The indentured servant who had gathered some experience, learned the language, and had made some initial adjustments could not fail to recognize the economic implications of his servitude and the opportunities which waited for the settler who could avail himself of them. It may be concluded then that the economic factor was of great influence in these escapes.

What happened to the runaway who was caught? We know first of all that it meant legal punishment in form of prolonged servitude,¹¹ and the advertisements show that it meant also the danger of being put into jail until further arrangement was made

by the master. Furthermore, it meant expense for the master who had offered compensation for expenses incurred and a reward for taking the servant into custody. If we consider the fact that the rewards ranged from 10 shillings to 5 pounds we can assume that the servant had to redress his master for these expenses with an additional prolongation of servitude which amounted to considerable periods of time. That this right of redress could be exercised in an unscrupulous way is suggested by a bill made out to two servants for recapturing them.¹² The first page of this bill is reproduced below (p. 680) for purposes of illustration. The bill contains another sheet with Justice fees, Court fees, Sheriff fees, Constable and Beadle fees amounting to "£17 "3d", but it is not clear in what way the two servants were charged for them, at least no time calculation has been jotted down by the master. The possibilities of abuse in such cases suggest themselves.

After Regaining Freedom. We have had opportunity to note that the sales of redemptioners as well as resales of these servants took no account of family ties, and we have assumed that the disruption of many a family unit has probably happened on that account. A group of advertisements inserted by former redemptioners in search for relatives with whom they had lost contact helps to verify this assumption.

[11] Hans Michael Seitz came to this country six years ago last fall. At that time his son Hans Michael Seitz was indentured, and now he is free. He would like to know where his parents are. If they see this, they are requested to write to him or to let him know where they are. He wants to come to them. At present he is with Mardochoi Thomson in Rittle Township in Chester County, or if it is more convenient for them, they may address themselves to the printer. [Berichte, 7-16-1756]

[12] Conrad Frech of Old Springfield Township, Burlington County, N.J., would like to know where his wife's sister Christine Speichtin

¹¹ Gottlieb Mittelberger, l.c., p. 29. Cheesman A. Herrick, l.c., p. 217.

¹² This manuscript bill is contained in the collection of Logan Papers in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Vol. 10, p. 128.

lives. She came to this country from Gumbertshofen with her brother and sister 14 years ago and upon arrival was bound in servitude in New Jersey for 9 years. Whoever knows anything about her, is requested to inform said Conrad Frech, or if above mentioned Christine

brother if she can do so, or to inform him of her residence. If somebody else knows anything about her, he is requested to pass on this information. Letters can be sent to the editor Heinrich Miller, Printer, at Second Street, Philadelphia. [Staatsbote, 12-6-1762]

Messrs James Samuel Gordon and James Logan (Runaway Servants)
To their master Edmund Melne

Drs.

1769

July 17	To Messrs. Thearis and Le Teliere for one Day which they spent in looking for you	"	10	"	10
	To their Ferryage twice 1/4 and Expenses 1/1	"	2	"	5
	To advertise in Gazette, Journal and Chronicle	"	15	"	
	To Ditto in the York Papers	"	5	"	
	To 100 Handbills at York	"	7	"	6
	To John Le Teliere for 10 Days which he lost in search of you at 3/4 per Day 1	"	13	"	4
	To ditto for Cash which you took away from him	"	17	"	
	To ditto for his gold Broach which he lost when he was looking for you	3	"	1	4
	To Cash expended by J. Le Teliere in going to New York, while he remained there, and on his way back	3	"	"	
	To Horse Hire for ditto 10 Days at 5	2	"	10	"
	To Reward Charges and Prison Fees at Carlisle as of Robert Semple's account	7	"	6	"
	To Cash paid to Waggoner for bringing you home	2	"	5	"
	To time lost from the 16th July, the Day you ran away till the 21st of August following the Day you were brought back, is 1 Month and 16 Days				
	15 " 0				
	12 " 6				
1	" 13 " 4				
4	" illegible				
3	" 10 " 0				
2	" 1 " 0				
2	" 5 " 0				
14	" 16 " 10				
£	7 " 8 " 0	3	Ms		
Gordon	1 M and 6 Days run away time	6	Ms		
		9	Ms		

Logan to serve beyond his indenture time 15Ms.¹³

Speichtin learns of this, she is asked to come to her brother-in-law and sister of hers or to send word about her address. [Staatsbote, 10-25-1762, 11-1-1762, 11-8-1762]

[13] Ulrich Wintsch, resident of Manor Township, Lancaster County, would like to know whether his sister Margaretha Wintschin is still alive. She comes from Horber near Zurich in Switzerland, and came to this country with the above mentioned brother twelve years ago. But he does not know where and to whom she has been indentured nor has he heard from her since. If she is still alive and learns of this, she is requested to come to the above mentioned

It is characteristic of this group of instances that it was always the indenture which severed the family ties and that the separation seems to have been accompanied by complete loss of contact between the members of the family group.¹⁴

From this angle it becomes apparent that indenture meant not only temporary loss of personal freedom but also sometimes the actual loss of a family member due to the dis-

¹⁴This is a consequence also of other enforced migrations and dislocations. The present refugee paper "Der Aufbau" carries a permanent column of advertisements by which relatives and friends try to locate persons they have lost track of in the European upheaval of our day.

¹³This figure is somewhat illegible. It could also be 10Ms.

location and difficulties in communication involved.

But not only the enforced separation of family members due to indenture made for loss of contact with relatives; correspondence was often made impossible because of its expensiveness and the haphazard form of its organization. This was equally true for correspondence within the colonies as for correspondence with relatives who had remained in Europe.

The following advertisement throws light on a rather tragic case where a newcomer who had a brother in this country was indentured before he could get in touch with him.

[14] Search for a brother
the below mentioned would like to know what became of his brother Philip Wiest. He comes from Geisslingen near Schwaebisch Hall and arrived a couple of weeks ago with Captain Smith in Philadelphia. If the said Philip Wiest sees this notice he is asked to send word to his brother Andreas Wiest who lives at the Great Schwatara in Paxton Township, Lancaster County, because he wants to get him free. If anybody else knows anything about the said Philip Wiest he is requested to inform Georg Frei in Middletown accordingly. Andreas Wiest. [Staatsbote, 11-10-1772]

If it could happen that the difficulties in communication could lead to such results when a distance between Philadelphia and Lancaster County was involved we need not be surprised to find indications of complete loss of contact between family members who had been separated by the Atlantic. Item No. 15 may serve as an illustration.

[15] Julliana Fellentzerin of Creutzenach was indentured to Jacob Bauman of Germantown ten years ago. She married a tailor named Wolff with whom she went to the Blue Mountains. Her brother Johanness Fellentzer arrived last year and awaits news about her at Bastian Neff's ("Shoemaker Neff") at the Crown Tavern, outside Germantown. [Berichte, 10-16-1753]

The difficulties of keeping up mail connection across the Atlantic become apparent when visualized against the background of the following typical advertisements.

[16] Philip Heyd
of Rees Street near the Moravian Alley serves notice that he intends to go to Europe with the next ship. His journey will lead him through the Palatinate into Wirtemberg. He also takes letters for Westerwalde. Those who want to give him powers of attorney or letters may leave them either with Mr. Hering of Market Street or with the above mentioned Philip Heyd himself. He assures everybody that he will take care of everything all right. A letter from here to Europe costs half a crown. [Staatsbote, 10-25-1762]

[17] With Jacob Bertsch in "The White Lamb" on Market Street in Philadelphia are the following letters: one addressed to Hans Michel Schnerr from Dutlingen, Durlach, one to Friedrich Kayser, one to Hans Georg Jely, one to Caspar Dollinger, one to Ulrich Sieberlig, one to Lenert Mueller, one to Georg Adam Schlegel, one to Johannes Mayer, cobbler at Ephrata, one to Gottlieb Schrohecker in Reading, one to Anna Erbin, wife of Nicolas Erbs in Quittophille, one to Christoph Friedrich Weymann, one to Martin Mohren, from Kalb, and one to Christoph Friedrich Metzger also from Kalb. [Berichte, 11-20-1761]

[18] The following letters which a Neulander has brought recently from Germany can be claimed from the editor of this journal. For every letter there is to be paid a price of three shillings. The addresses run as follows: In the country: To Jacob Geiger at Falckner Schwamm. Peter Buehler, at the Great Schwamm. To Friedrich Knapp in Makuntschi. Jacob Linck or Lorentz Schweitzer, in Greenwich. To the Rev. Georg Michael Weiss in Guschehoppen. Samuel Kauffman at the Great Schwamm. Jacob Muselmann in Lancaster. Johannes Muselman in Sackonum, Samuel Bechtel in Sackonum, 2 letters. Jacob Friedrich Meyer in Heidelberg Township, to be deposited with Wilhelm Reggs in Heidelberg Township a letter addressed to "Dear Sister," Samuel Kauffman at the Great Schwamm. Jacob Schumacher in or near Schippach. Johann Michael Rau surgeon in Reading. Johannes Buehler und Maria Catharina Mauntzin in Heidelberg Township. [Staatsbote, 7-12-1762]

These advertisements indicate the hazards and economic obstacles which beset correspondence between the newcomer and his relatives. First of all we see that transatlantic

mail was carried by private persons who made it a source of business profit, and it is significant that money was exacted from both the sender as well as the receiver of the letters. This made correspondence an expensive matter. Since the indenture did not include money payments during the period of servitude many a servant may have been unable to afford the costs of either sending or receiving a letter. To a certain degree that might have been the case also with their relatives who had remained in Europe. The lack of knowledge regarding the whereabouts of the newcomers is expressed by the inadequate addresses which many of the letters from the old country show. We have also to consider that the middlemen were often "Neulanders," the agents who in the service of shipping firms travelled in Germany in order to induce people to emigrate, and in order to achieve their purpose resorted to all types of faulty information and trickery.¹⁵ That these agents were not particularly concerned about doing a good job in mail delivery can be seen from the type of addresses which they accepted.

Thus we can conclude that both the enforced dislocation and disruption of family ties involved in indenture,¹⁶ as well as the difficulties of communication by mail, caused much personal isolation for the early immigrants. The newspaper notices in search of relatives, which the immigrants inserted often after many years of separation, bear testimony to the personal hardships and emotional strains which this must have meant for many.

Independently of the hardships of indenture the immigrants seem to have had a number of problems. As first among these, we find newspaper reflection of considerable marital trouble, and one can well assume that the need for women in the colonies made it easy for them to leave their husbands and to try another chance. The reason for the advertisements giving notice of separation is the legal refutation of responsibility for the debts contracted by the women, but in-

directly they tell us a story of women's awakening initiative in the shaping of their lives.

[19] Johann Friedrich Falcke of Heidelberg Township serves notice that his wife Anna Martha has run away from him and has taken along much. He warns everybody not to lend her on his account. He will not pay such debts. [Berichte, 12-10-1757]

[20] Philadelphia, April 1, 1861
Anthon Gabriel, mason of North Philadelphia, gives notice that, because of his and his wife's having found it impossible to get along together for some time, he has provided her upon her request with the necessary furniture etc., and after a farewell drink of a glass of wine in the presence of respectable citizens has given her freedom to go from him. However, he thinks it necessary to warn everybody not to give her any credit on his name, because he will not pay any debts contracted by her after the above given date. [Staatsbote, 4-19-1762]

[22] A runaway wife
On the 30th of last August his wife, Maria Fronica, ran away from Jacob Haas in Bedford. She is 5 feet and 3 or 4 inches high, has chestnut brown hair and a mark on the right side of her neck. According to her own statement, she was two months pregnant when she left. The above mentioned Jacob Haas warns everybody not to give her shelter or to lend her on his account because he will not pay for her. Jacob Haas. [Staatsbote, 10-25-1762]

[23] A Marital Cross
Philadelphia, July 21, 1772.
Johan Andreas Senling, herewith gives notice that his wife Rosina has left him without any sufficient reason eight days ago and that she does not want to return to him. Therefore he warns everybody not to give her credit on his account, he will not pay for her. So much from me. Johan Andreas Senling. [Staatsbote, 7-28-1772]

Notwithstanding the language advantages of segregation the German settlers seem to have felt to a considerable degree the need of acquiring the English language. This language problem appears in the German press in various ways.

The advertisement columns reflect this problem in the offers of instruction in English.

¹⁵ Karl Friedrich Geiser, l.c., p. 18.

¹⁶ Gottlieb Mittelberger, l.c., p. 27.

[24] A German and English Grammarbook especially intended for Germans who want to learn English is for sale in Lancaster at Ludwig Lauman's and in Philadelphia at Matthaeus Ernst's and in Germantown at the printer's. Cost 4/6. [Berichte, 5-14-1757]

[25] Johannes Georg Zeisiger residing in the third house on Reese Street on the floor below the Rev. Pastor Steiner plans to start on June 1st a German and English school in which the youths will not only be taught to read and write, but also both languages. Those who want to put children under his instruction are invited to make an application before or around June 1st. He has already had a well attended school in New Jersey under the supervision of Professor Smith and also an evening school in this city, from which facts his ability in teaching can be somewhat gathered. NB he also drafts legal papers. [Staatsbote, 4-26-1762]

[26] An English Evening School has been opened on Monday October 4th in the new school building of the subscriber on 5th Street a few blocks above Market Street. Lazarus Pine.

NB The said Pine continues also his day school in which he gives instruction in English with grammar and also writing and mathematics. [Staatsbote, 10-12-1773]

Here we find an array of the instruction facilities typical of the Americanization pattern of immigrants: grammar books designed for a specific language group, the offer to teach both languages to the children, and evening schools.

The need for translator service is well reflected in this standing advertisement of the editor of the *Staatsbote*.

[27] The editor informs his subscribers that in addition to the clearcut Latin and German types which he already owned he has received a considerable number of new and neat letters with the ships arrived from Europe last fall, so that everybody who will favor him with an order can be assured of a neat and correct as well as reasonable printing job in whatever language it be. He also translates English, German, Dutch and French writings. [Staatsbote, standing advertisement]

It is interesting to note that the same German printer and publisher of a German

language paper saw fit to bring English lessons as a form of newspaper service to his subscribers. On July 5, 1762, he brings his first English lesson with the following editorial comment:

Since I want to serve my countrymen in all possible ways and because the English language is as necessary in this country as making a living and as the dealing with people itself, it has occurred to me whether it would not be agreeable to some of the subscribers of the *Staatsbote* if the editor would present himself to them as a teacher of English, particularly in view of the fact that on this continent it is customary to pursue more than one trade. The method will be quite simple, short, and agreeable. The editor will give to his students a short lesson in which the English text stands in the first line, the pronunciation below, and the German according to the English syntax in the third line. The correct German text according to our syntax will conclude the lesson in the fourth line.

The lesson contains a story with a political tendency. Its meaning was related to the world events of the date. It ran like this.

An English mastiff and a French greyhound quarrelled about a bone; and while they were fighting, in comes a Spanish pointer who sides with the greyhound. The spectators were shocked at the unequal combat. They pulled the pointer by the tail and many a cudgel visited his loins in vain; till someone, wiser than the rest, said: "Let us make a short work of it; throw a rope about his neck, and throttle him." This was no sooner said than done; the Spanish pointer immediately quitted his hold being very nearly choked. Upon which the English mastiff soon got the better of his slim antagonist and each retired to his kennel, the mastiff carrying off his bone with him in triumph.

In order to bring the meaning assuredly home, the editor added a few lines, pointing out the strategical merits of a British occupation of the Isthmus of Panama, as he saw them.

It is interesting to see how the editor tries to combine two purposes: the rendering of a service in language instruction and the influencing of public opinion regarding international events. It may also be noted how fast the German press identified itself with

the British colonial policy in America. We can see how anxiously the immigrant group tried to achieve assimilation in language as well as in political loyalty to their new country. Here we have an early manifestation of the melting pot pattern of North American immigration.

The Situation As Viewed from Europe. The newspaper material analyzed in this study has shown many hardships to be involved in starting a new life in 18th century Pennsylvania. However, how little all these problems and hardships counted as compared with the vicissitudes which drove the German settlers from their European home is well reflected in a letter written by a father to his son in Pennsylvania and reproduced in the *Staatsbote* on August 27, 1762.

At present, nobody wants to go to America because the voyage over the Ocean is too insecure. But if once more there should be peace so that one can risk the sea travel again, I think that many will emigrate to America. Grain is again very expensive here, oats cost six dollars and rye even ten. Here we have suffered so much from the war that I would need much time and paper in order to describe it all. Thievery is rampant and although a few are caught, it does not decline because one puts only the poor into jail while the rich and outwardly respectable are left free even if they are guilty. There are so many of them at night that they surround the houses in which they know money to be, some of them break into the houses, tie the people's hands and feet, break into boxes

and lockers, torture the owners and press them to tell where they have the money. This has happened to many. Not even during the day time can people leave a house unwatched. There is no end to the war, and the requisitions must be provided in winter time over distances of 12 to 16 hours travel. The people must give cruelly much in money, grain, etc. We had to furnish most for the French, and they have not paid for anything. The Hanoverians, however, have at least paid for everything. You see, my son, that you have acted wisely that you left this bad, unjust, and corrupt country.

SUMMARY

In summary, these various pieces of newspaper material show the ever-recurrent characteristics of the problems of the immigrant: The push of intolerable conditions in the home country, the abuse in the transportation of people who are forced to leave, the period of initial hardships upon arrival, the Americanization character of this period, the segregation pattern at the beginning based on language and psychological ties with one's own ethnic group, the loosening of these ties after the first period of adjustment, the strain and stress on family life under the economic hardships of beginning life anew in a strange environment, the stirrings of an independence of women unknown to the European pattern of life, and the fast adoption of the interests of their new country by the immigrants.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON CRIME*

WALTER BROMBERG†

U. S. Naval Reserve

THE problem to be discussed is the effect of the psychological atmosphere and changed realities of war-time America on criminal offenders. In approaching this problem, several external factors require consideration before conclusions can be drawn from criminologic experience or statistics. In the first place the large number of men brought into the armed forces removes them from the possibility of criminal activity in their home communities. Equally important is the fact that thousands of men unemployed or on relief projects have been drafted into the war industries at high wages. The transposition of whole sections of the population to areas of war activity, shipyards and the like, where makeshift housing and loose community organization exists, may easily influence patterns of behavior. Added to this are further factors of shrinkage of leisure hours for workers, the increase of availability of work for adolescents, and so on.

Beyond the above stated real factors arising out of the mechanics of war activity, are potent psychological ones influencing the total population. War propaganda implants a psychology in the public which gradually replaces peace-time attitudes. War attitudes are almost antithetical to our usual thinking. Effort is rewarded by denial, not by satisfaction: we are urged towards exertion and accomplishment but taught to accept deprivation and restriction. Further confusing to our thinking and feeling is the mobilization of aggressive impulses, upon the suppression of which a premium is placed in ordinary times. Slogans like "Pay Your Taxes, Smash the Axis" or the anomalous "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition"

reverse the usual moral values placed on aggression. To measure the strength of psychological forces of war-time living as they influence the potential offender requires our concern with the elusive forces of morale and propaganda as well as with tangible factors like housing. For example, the air of temporariness, which creeps in with haphazard living arrangements, is related to a decreased interest in youth on the part of the parents who are preoccupied with war work or war thinking. A feeling of abandon results among youth which is reflected in delinquencies. As a consequence of their own interpretation of the "all out" war effort, a spurious license and sense of irresponsibility is observable among pre-delinquent youth.¹

With these generalizations in mind, we may hope that comparative figures on pre-war and war time crime will provide a hint as to psychological trends in the population in relation to crime and war. It has been regarded as axiomatic² that crime rates drop during the early stages of the war and rise towards the end and after the war. The figures for the City of London, England, of "Offenses Known to the Police" for comparable years before and during the war are (Mannheim) 1938: 95,280 indictable offenses, and 1940: 93,869 indictable offenses. Figures for comparable periods in American cities are:

City and County of San Francisco: Period January to August, inclusive, for convicted felons.³

Pre-War: 1939	War: 1942
498	736 (including auto and tire thefts)

¹ This finding is corroborated by Dr. John H. Cassity, present Director of the Psychiatric Clinic, Court of General Sessions, New York City: Personal communications, September 1942.

² Mannheim, H. "Some Reflections on Crime in War-Time," *Fortnightly Review*, London, Vol. 151, p. 38, January 1942.

³ From the San Francisco Police Department, Hall of Justice, by permission of Chas. W. Dullea, Chief of Police.

*The opinions and assertions contained in this article are those of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large. [For abstract see summary at end.—Ed.]

† Lt. Comdr. (MC) USNR. U. S. Naval Training Station, Farragut, Idaho.

City of New York, County of New York: Period January to August, inclusive, for convicted felons.⁴

Pre-War: 1939	War: 1942
1,739	2,028

It must be borne in mind that the first eight months of 1942 were psychologically an intermediate stage between peace and war for the American public. The years 1939 and 1942 were selected as covering a period wherein the chief economic and social differences of two localities were due to war and defense activity. It is evident that there was a moderate rise in apprehended crime in the early war period in two coastal cities. The only disproportionate increase in the crime groups was in Larceny, due to the car and tire thefts, and in Statutory Rape. The former is a special problem consequent on rationing and is comparable to the special problem of looting in England after the "Blitz" in 1940. The rise in sexual crime will be discussed below.

A more reliable index of criminality covering a larger segment of the United States is obtainable from the tabulation published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation representing "Offenses Known to the Police."

	Rate per 100,000 population Total population 61,608,286 Jan. 1 to July 1 1939 ⁵	Rate per 100,000 population Total population 63,231,588 Jan. to July 1942 ⁶
Homicide	4.6	4.6
Rape	4.1	4.9
Robbery	27.5	24.6
Burglary	172.0	157.6
Aggravated Assault	20.6	24.6
Larceny	431.7	470.6
Auto Theft	88.1	86.6

What is immediately obvious in studying figures for larger bodies of population, is the relative similarity of crime incidence in the early period of the war to that in a similar period several years prior to our

participation. Up to this point we must answer the question, "Is crime changed in quality or quantity in a nation at war?" chiefly in the negative. It may be more instructive, then, to turn to individual offenders to ascertain the effects of war-time living and ideology on criminality. In doing this, let us use as concepts the three types of antisocial reaction patterns described in terms of the dynamic relationship between the emotional causes of crime and the phenomena of criminal acts. The types include: the Immature, the Neurotic and the Recidivistic Offender.⁷

The Immature Offender. During recent times, there has been agreement that a large proportion of adult crime incidence occurs in the age group 16 to 25 years. The external characteristics of crime among this group encompass the tendencies of the emotionally immature individual: hyperactivity, aggression, rebelliousness, adventuresomeness. The psychological factors underlying this behavior have been noted to be reactions to rejection, impatience with reality restriction, feelings of inadequacy, overcompensated by braggadocio and aggressive behavior hiding a perception of underlying helplessness and masking unconscious guilt feelings with the deeper "need for punishment." Cases⁸ of emotionally immature offenders in war-time show no difference in the psychological mechanisms motivating their crime from those studied in the pre-war period. Easier access to money and the greater possibility of mobility seem to be the only variants from the peace-time environment of immature offenders. Mobility, which is implicit in the war effort, comes to mean, psychologically, lack of restraint. The influence of mobility bears directly on offenses observed in cities near military camps or ports of embarkation. An example in point is that of two U. S.

⁷ Psychiatric Clinic, Court of General Sessions, County of New York, New York City, Dr. Walter Bromberg, Director, 1935-1941 inclusive.

⁸ From the Superior Court, Criminal Department, San Francisco, California, cases under investigation by Adult Probation Department, City and County of San Francisco; with the permission of George McNulty, Chief Probation Officer.

⁴ From the Court of General Sessions, New York County, New York City.

⁵ Uniform Crime Reports, F.B.I., Vol. X, Table 41, p. 59, 1939.

⁶ Uniform Crime Reports, F.B.I., Vol. XIII, Table 1, p. 5, 1942 (permission of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, F.B.I.).

Navy sailors who, while intoxicated, bound up the driver of a taxicab in which they were riding, stole \$40 from his person and released him in an alley. Both men, aged 21, were without previous criminal record and free from mental disorder or blatant personality disturbance. Just returned from eight months on Asiatic duty, they were scheduled to ship out to the war zone after a period ashore. Unable to travel to the East coast to visit relatives because of the uncertainty of their orders, they smarted under the restrictions and went A.W.O.L. for a day, having estimated the proposed movement of their ship. Remaining in the city for two days, the sailors found they had miscalculated. Stranded by the vessel which had moved on, their impatience with war-imposed control of free movement flamed into revolt in the offense. Both offenders stated that they had not needed the money which they stole and that the binding of the driver was done out of no particular animus toward him.

The role the war played in the impulsive crime outlined was that of introducing a background of irresponsibility and grim playfulness into the offense. Exasperation and the wish for relief from the tedium of their duty was the conscious force observed. Beneath this could be seen other feelings of a mass-psychological nature. These feelings, shared by many who work for large, impersonal organizations, are in the nature of a feeling of oneness with the parent-like organizations; in this case, the government. Imbedded in this feeling is the security that the father-figure understands the strength of their motives—in this case, though the offense was actually a robbery, they themselves intended it as an innocuous piece of rebelliousness. It is a prototype of an infantile wish to be cared for, to be given extra privilege, to be favored over other children. The rationalization that they *were* favored children as defenders of the nation, added strength to the false feeling of security that allayed their conscience. Our offenders were startled that their "prank" had been regarded as a major crime. They acted as if they believed themselves entitled to a special position with relation to the law: the

position a not-too-naughty child could expect from a benevolent parent. The infantile coloring to this behavior marks it as characteristic of the emotionally immature.

The foregoing case illustrated a frustration reaction arising out of a special war situation. Reaction to emotional rejection, a common psychological motive for adolescent crime, underlay another case of war-time crime. In August, 1942, a youth of 18 was arrested for robberies of a gas station and a restaurant within a short time of each other. Orphaned at an early age, bitter at his handicapped life, M.G. had escaped from a detention home in San Diego just prior to the present offense. With his girl, he made his way to San Francisco, planning to marry en route and start a new life as a worker in the shipyards at Seattle. After several days in the city, their money rapidly exhausted, M.G. bought a gun with his remaining two dollars and proceeded to the robberies. As the offender fled the restaurant, four soldiers walking on the street captured him. His feeling of inadequacy is seen in his explanation, "I kept the gun in my pocket because I was ashamed to let people see, especially the soldiers who captured me, that it was not loaded." His acts of desperation represented aggression infiltrated by the fear of exposure of his feelings of inadequacy. The execution of his commendable plan to care for his bride-to-be drove him into a dangerous situation, rather than into the security for which he yearned. Further analysis of this type of offender often demonstrates a strong unconscious need for punishment, underlying the choice of crime. Reaction to society's rejection and the need for punishment are the psychological forces that, joined with the spirit of abandon and a disregard for convention, motivate the robberies. The contribution of the war in this case appeared to be merely the opportunity it provided for mobility because of the distribution of war work.

The feeling of inadequacy, covered by braggadocio, is even more clearly discernible in the case of a youth of 19, D., who in October, 1942, was arrested for burglary of a tavern. The industrial history of D. started with a period of work in one of our island

possessions, from which he returned to work in a west coast shipyard. Back at home, he became enamoured of a girl, whose other suitor was a more skilled shipyard worker. Jealous of his rival's means and more ostentatious motorcar, D., with the wish to impress his girl with ready cash, carried out the burglary. His plan had been to "ship out" immediately after he had vindicated his "honor." In this youth, inferiority feelings were overwhelming: "I hate somebody who has superiority over me, if they are my age," he said. A well-developed six footer, he could not tolerate the slightest implied or actual accomplishment of another. All his participation in sports or work was aimed to undo the proficiency of a contemporary which his sensitivity rationalized as a blow to humiliate him. D's attitude did not extend to any except youths of his age group and was as yet not a paranoid illness but rather an adolescent neurotic trend. Deeper causes for the development of his sensitivity were sought and found, in a family background of confused, if not questionable, parentage. "I always want to be recognized," was his cry. Careful investigation showed a long record of neurotic behavior, particularly restlessness, which his relatives had observed to be clearly connected with his questioning as to his origins: his illegitimacy had been sedulously hidden from him. Emotionally sensitized youths of the type described here were a frequent finding among peace-time offenders in the burglary group. The only factor introduced into this picture by the war was the ease with which work could be obtained and its use by D. as a temporary ego-support to combat his inner insecurity.

Sex Crimes and the War. In other offenders studied among the emotionally immature group, the influence of the war on the psychological structure of burglary, robbery, and so on, seems to be negligible. In sexual crimes, however, is encountered a problem of war-time living as well as war-time criminality. Juvenile delinquency among previously adjusted adolescents, which rises so sharply in wartime, extends to older girls and young women who become involved in

offenses of statutory rape, prostitution and petty larceny.⁹ The common explanation of the increase in sexual misbehavior in time of war is that with the outbreak of hostilities and its attendant accent on a new kind of living, comes the advent of "loose morals." It is a question whether morals are really changed in war-time: it is more likely that the weakening of inhibitions ordinarily operative on sexual impulses represents more of a change in mood than one of moral values. The mood is related to a mass of feeling entertained by many, especially at the start of hostilities. It can best be described as a rebellion against the authoritarian parent—society in its insistence on everyone's participation in the war. War interferes with individual independence, upsets plans, lays waste dreams of the future: it is anti-individual. Notwithstanding the fact that the need for war-making soon asserts itself on a conscious level universally, antagonism to war's restrictive influence on the individual may persist at deeper level of feeling. It is not strange, then, that this rebelliousness is displaced to and expressed through sexual activity, for sexuality is, as far as the individual is concerned, a "personal" function, distant from external control. In the examination of female offenders, one does not directly observe this displacement of unconscious antagonism to sexual feeling: what is seen are rationalizations concerning moral restrictions, many of which are close to reality. For example, a married woman in her thirties, her husband overseas, said of a chance affair with an aviator on leave, "He is going to be shot down in two months, why shouldn't I light his way a little?"

Another rationalization to be found in young people unites the carefully controlled aggressive activity known as war-making with any kind of aggressive behavior. Thus "doing something" for and with sailors and soldiers comes into line with the realities of a nation at war at the same time that it

⁹From Women's Department, San Francisco County Jail: by permission of Dr. Richard A. Koch, Chief, Division of Venereal Disease, Department of Public Health, San Francisco, California.

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covers the expression of deeper wishes which are contrary to the proscriptions of society. In addition, a psychobiological current is perceptible in the disturbance of the balance, during war-time, between human impulses and accepted social values. By this is meant women's biological reproof to war, the destroyer of men, a behavior-determining force that must be reckoned with.

Sexual activity then comes to have a special meaning in war-time, particularly in modern war where total destruction is anticipated in place of casualty by wounds. The romance and glamour experienced by women living close to ports of embarkation and training camps, represents an identification with the soldiers and sailors who are or will be exposed to danger in action. In a sense the glamour of war among the combatants purchases freedom of conscience and of guilt for the hate and killing impulses which emerge. Just so does identification on the part of women with the men of the armed forces purchase freedom from moral values in allowing sexual license. The operation of this unconscious force can be seen behind the practical interests of the "sea gulls" and "camp followers" with whom police officials have to deal. A 25 year old woman arrested on her fourth charge of vagrancy (prostitution) in almost as many months, said in explanation of her behavior since the war began, "It is our part to cheer them up."

Sexual impulses joined with aggressive drives emerge as a problem in the case of the transplanted worker or service man who is far from a home environment, where he was conditioned to a balance of impulse and conscience. A particularly vicious attack with attempt to rape committed on a white woman by an Eastern Negro worker in one of the west coast defense projects was based on the combination of long suppressed feelings of racial inadequacy and the atmosphere of freedom from guilt which the war releases.

The Neurotic Offender. The occasional offender in whom an offense is the symbolic representation of a neurotic conflict is met relatively infrequently during war-time. Fear for personal safety, or preoccupation with an individual's or nations' fate because of

changes in economy or social life wrought by the war, absorb emotional tension which may have been resolved in a neurotic crime in days of peace. Thus unconscious omnipotence fantasies which forced their way to gratification in embezzlements and larcenies or outbursts of infantile rage released through arson or assault, etc., may take other courses of expression. The rapid, almost daily development of a global war absorbs ungratified unconscious drives in individuals like the potential neurotic offender, where enough of the personality organization is intact to preserve contact with the world about them. The present study has encountered none of the occasional offender type through whom to put this hypothesis to the test.

With the neurotic recidivist, it is even more difficult to judge the relation between inner conflicts and war-time crime. It would be reasonable to assume, a priori, that the killing impulses in potential murderers would be stimulated by the war atmosphere. The situation, however, seems to be the reverse. Of the homicide cases studied (the gang killer now almost extinct with the decline of racketeering is excepted here) nothing was found to relate murder in a civil population to war. The same emotional dynamics were observed in war time civil homicides which lay at the base of murders in peace-time: these included reactions to intolerable frustration or humiliation of a social or psychosexual nature, identification of the victim with the offender (symbolic suicide), reactions to severe inadequacies and so on. War, or the possibility of service in the armed forces, seemed, in civil murders, to be an adventitious factor to the central problem in the personality of the offender. A striking case was that of a youth of 24, whose long record of incarceration for arson, burglary and robbery, dated from an early age. Diagnosed as a psychopathic personality, K. was released from state prison after a six year term on April, 1942 only to be returned to custody facing a charge of first degree murder, less than three months later.

On his release K. obtained a remunerative job at the shipyards, made plans to marry and looked forward to an adjusted life.

Within a month he was called by Selective Service and soon after passed his physical examination. When it became clear to him that he might be called into the army, he became "disgusted," went on a spree, and having squandered his money, attempted two armed robberies, during the second of which his victim was killed. What marked K.'s case as singular was his insistence, throughout the trial and period of detention, that he be executed immediately for the murder. Although he was undoubtedly to be considered an unstable psychopathic personality, there were no evidences of schizophrenia. From childhood he had been a "different child," bitter even into adult life about his broken home and indifferent father: his mother had died when he was 5 years old. K. strove in every way through his misbehavior to bring discredit upon his father. The strength of his unconscious need for punishment out of guilt for his tremendous infantile hatred of his father, was evident in his life course. The call to the service was interpreted by the offender as another intolerable rejection, this time by society, which added to the already heavy emotional burden he carried since childhood. The possibility of being drafted into the army was the signal for a violent outburst of generalized aggression (the spree), ending in anger at a particular individual, the victim. The explosion over, K. asked for the death penalty, an irreversible outcome of his unconscious urges. It is, of course, quite probable that any other circumstance attended by emotion may have sooner or later precipitated the reaction which ended so tragically. The pattern which demanded a symbolic murder of his father, with complete expiation of his guilt, was strongly entrenched in K.'s emotional structure. What the neurotic or pre-psychotic individual takes for his psychological use from the war situation or life situation depends almost entirely on the movement of the emotional forces beneath.

The Recidivist. The policy of selection of only emotionally and mentally well men of the nation for waging war, serves to increase relatively the number of recidivists available for crime. State prison officials and sentenc-

ing judges agree that our penal institutions are populated now as in peace-time in the main with criminalistic, psychopathic individuals. Apparently, the emotional currents of the recidivist stream on without respect to our national life.

In justice to this group, however, it must be said that contrary to general opinion, they are eager to join the colors. The wish of ex-felons to lose themselves in the army is the wish to neutralize their guilt towards their fellow-men. As one ex-felon who applied for enlistment in the army phrased it, "This is the only way I can pay my debt to society." Superficially, felons with records of serious offenses who enlist or are up for induction as draftees demonstrate general antagonism to army routine and sensitivity to even casual scrutiny by the examining psychiatrist. Sensing that appraisal of their criminal record may mean rejection by the army induction board, open criticism of the methodical army routine and an air of surliness and antagonism hide their deep feelings of inferiority. Experience with many thousands of enlistees and draftees¹⁰ has shown the universality of this reaction among recidivists who are at large. Their criticism of the examination and the service standards is displaced from their criticism of society which outlawed them. A strong need for a dependable, non-punishing parent surrogate, the army, is masked by their anger, or fear of disclosure. There is good reason to believe that an unconscious yearning for dependence, covered by a non-conforming, antisocial pattern of life, lies at the base of many of the younger recidivists' wish to join the army or navy.

Concerning recidivists who become involved in crime during war-time, our cases teach us little of the effect of larger psychological forces on their personality structures. Cases like that of G.B. before the court on a charge of sodomy show the independence of their emotional life of any war activity. His last offense, in October 1942, was a sodomy, performed on a civilian youth;

¹⁰ Armed Forces Induction Center, #1, Col. Perkins, A.U.S., commanding officer, San Francisco, California.

he had been arrested at least twenty times, nine times for major crimes during the 24 years of his adult life.

Summary. The psychological effect of various aspects of the war effort, such as the industrial realignment and the reallocation of the population, on civil criminal offenders was discussed. These factors, including propaganda aimed at the psychological preparation of this nation for war, were found to be reflected in a feeling of abandon among youth with consequent lack of social responsibility and crime. Sexuality was also profoundly influenced by these factors, particularly among girls. Some of the irresponsibility of the young took its origin from the identification with the parent-like organization (the government); at the same time there was a strong dependence on the govern-

ment as the father-figure which allowed lessened control of aggressive impulses.

Utilizing the three types of crime patterns based on a study of pre-war criminals, in studying individual cases it was found that in general the dynamic interrelation between the individual (emotional) cause of crime and phenomena of criminal acts, was the same for the war as for the pre-war period. The neurotic offenders and the recidivists in war-time seemed to enter crime through the evolution of their specific neurotic patterns without relation to larger psychological forces due to the war.

Except for the influence on delinquent youth noted above, broadly speaking, there was no specific change in the phenomenology of crime because of war or defense activity during the first year of war in America.

NEGRO BOOTLEGGERS IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

SANFORD WINSTON¹ AND MOSETTE BUTLER²

The pattern of rural crime covered by the expression "bootlegging" is analyzed in terms of Negro youth in Eastern North Carolina on probation for violations of the Federal Revenue Act. This form of anti-social behavior is condoned by the folkways of their particular group, and the culture of the rural area involved is such as to foster its development. The youth studied are handicapped by a socio-economic environment which neither encourages education and participation in organized group activities nor provides adequate work opportunities. Fundamental to the solution of the problem is basic change in the social and economic situation.

ONE of the most widespread problems of Federal law enforcement agencies in the South is that of the small-time rural bootlegger. Depending upon one's point of view, one may regard the illicit production and sale of liquor as exciting and romantic, as depressing and immoral, or as a type of anti-social activity that calls for further study and analysis as a basis for effective control. The latter point of view is the one taken in this paper.

Who are the bootleggers of Eastern North Carolina? They come primarily from the sharecropper and tenant-farmer class. They have drifted into the liquor business because the amount of poor land that they cultivate is not sufficient to keep them and their families employed steadily and profitably. Too, farming operations require attention only six to eight months each year, and the remaining months can be devoted primarily to the manufacture of illicit liquor. In some cases this originally "leisure-time" activity has been found so profitable that it has been adopted as the main occupation with farming as the side line.

The development of bootlegging is fostered by the lack of good farming land in various local areas of Eastern North Carolina. Ordinarily bootlegging is not a serious problem in sections with rich land. On the other hand, those areas of sandy soil on which only scrub

oaks will grow, or of hard red clay on which practically nothing will grow, or of land which requires so much fertilizer that farming is unprofitable, are the ones which produce the rural bootleggers. One such area, community A in Eastern North Carolina, is inhabited almost wholly by Negroes. No highway passes through the isolated, sparsely populated community. Rather than attempting to earn a living by farming the poor land, practically the entire Negro population years ago turned to the manufacture of liquor as an accepted source of livelihood.

Another such section can be found surrounding the crossroads of B and C in Eastern Carolina. Here there is a mixed population of Negroes and whites who have given up all pretense of farming and who have devoted themselves almost exclusively to the liquor business. It is true that a small proportion of this group does try to farm the barren land and that a larger proportion works two or three months a year at a nearby fertilizer factory. The small incomes earned through this seasonal employment, however, will not sustain the workers and their families throughout the year, and the men have turned to the more profitable field of bootlegging.

Such examples can be duplicated many times in all southern states, but each area has its own peculiar characteristics and problems.

The bootleggers in southern towns and cities can operate effectively only if they can get their supplies of illicit liquor from

¹ Professor of Sociology, North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina.

² United States Probation Officer for the Eastern District of North Carolina.

the rural areas. It is usually impractical for a bootlegger to attempt to manufacture liquor on a large scale in an urban area. Sparsely settled rural areas are ideally suited for this purpose, if the folkways condone such practices³ and the individual is inclined to take the risks involved. When the rural bootlegger goes out of business, the supply for the city retailer is curtailed. This supply and demand relationship guarantees a continuous market for the output of the rural manufacturer.

A small proportion of bootleggers enjoy their trade and actually get a "thrill" out of the suspense and uncertainty and danger connected with it. This group is in the minority, however, and does not present the major problem. The individuals who are the primary concern are those who are in the illicit liquor business for lack of a more profitable occupation.

In order to determine the factors associated with bootlegging in a selected rural group, the cases of the United States Probation Office in the Eastern District of North Carolina were utilized. This district comprises the 44 eastern counties of the State.⁴ Not only is the area dominantly rural but also the proportion of Negroes is high. In 27 of the 44 counties Negroes accounted for over 40 percent of the total population in 1940.⁵

All Negro males between the ages of 16 and 24 years, inclusive, who had been tried in the Federal Court for violation of the Internal Revenue Law and placed on probation were included in the survey. A schedule was filled for each case, meeting the definitions of the study, which had been received over a period of six years (April 30, 1934, to Sep-

tember 24, 1940). A total of 200 out of the 1,436 cases received during this period for all violations, including males, females, Negroes, and whites, was obtained. The data utilized were secured chiefly by interviews with the young offenders and by visits to their homes in the course of obtaining information which could be used by the Federal judge at the time of sentence, for the purpose of probation, and, incidentally, for the present study. The offenses were committed before the entry of the United States into the war so that this disturbing factor may be eliminated from consideration.

The majority of the 200 cases were men aged 20 through 23 years at the time they were convicted and placed on probation. Only 10.5 percent of the cases were below 18 years of age (Table 1). The mean age was 20.7 years.

Limited Education. Education for Negroes has developed rapidly in North Carolina with a fairly comprehensive public school system at least through the elementary grades. Nevertheless, 13 of the 200 probationers had never attended school (Table 1). Of the 187 who had attended school, 139 had attended a purely rural school. The other 48 had attended consolidated schools. The general availability of formal education is indicated by the large proportion who attended school for a considerable period of time.

Only two persons had completed high school. (Eleven grades constituted the average school.) The median attainment was 4.3 grades. Even this figure must be considered somewhat too high because of the general tendency of the men to overstate educational attainment. Functionally the level of education was decidedly less than the data indicate, for the average fourth-grade skill in reading and writing expected of the group was not found. It is doubtful that even half of the group could be called functionally literate.

Most of the youth made a pretense of attending school more or less regularly until the middle teens, but 26 percent dropped out of school permanently before their fourteenth birthdays, the upper limit for compulsory school attendance in North Carolina. All ex-

³ For a recent analysis of the significance of rural cultural patterns in rural crime, see John Useem and Marie Waldner, "Patterns of Crime in a Rural South Dakota County," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 7, June 1942, pp. 175-185. See also, Arthur Evans Wood and John Barker Waite, *Crime and Its Treatment*, New York, American Book Company, 1941, pp. 127-130 and 153-154.

⁴ One week of court is held every six months in each of the seven divisions within the District. Court is held in Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, New Bern, Raleigh, Washington, Wilmington, and Wilson. The study includes cases from all seven divisions.

⁵ *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940.*

cept two were out of school when placed on probation. Reasons for leaving school were primarily economic, at least on the surface. Those who stopped school to go to work usually were employed on the home farm or as farm laborers elsewhere in the community.

with no steady habits of work, with lack of personal funds, all coupled with a background which accepted bootlegging as a means of livelihood, it is not peculiar that the youth engaged in activities of an anti-social nature. Moreover, the behavior patterns

TABLE I. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF 200 NEGRO MALE PROBATIONERS, 16-24 YEARS OF AGE

Educational attainment	Total	Age								
		16 years	17 years	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 years	22 years	23 years	24 years
Total	200	10	11	20	19	29	28	28	30	25
Never attended school	13	..	1	2	..	1	..	3	4	2
Last grade completed by those attending school:										
None	7	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	..
First	5	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
Second	19	2	3	5	2	1	1	1	3	1
Third	22	2	..	1	3	4	3	4	1	4
Fourth	32	1	..	4	5	6	3	5	7	1
Fifth	30	1	1	..	1	5	6	7	3	6
Sixth	27	1	3	3	..	5	7	3	3	2
Seventh	24	1	2	4	4	4	..	2	4	3
Eighth	10	..	1	1	1	..	2	1	1	3
Ninth	4	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	1
Tenth	5	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	1	..
Eleventh	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Twelfth	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..

Actually the economic contributions of these young men were ineffective in raising their families' financial status. Tied up with the general economic factor, moreover, was the cultural pattern which did not include formal education as an integral trait. The attitudes of the average family were such that the youth thought "book learnin'" was not only an undesirable chore but also largely a waste of time.

Irregularity of Employment. A further clue to the delinquency of these youth lies in their employment history. Not only did they drop out of school early in life, after being irregular in attendance, but also they reported irregularity of employment, although the great majority had reached an age when regular employment may be expected in a rural environment. Of the total, 92 percent had never had steady employment. Only 7 percent had had regular work for as much as two years. With time on their hands and

tied up with irregular employment tended to make the youth shiftless and unwilling to work at regular jobs that were monotonous to them. Also, such jobs lacked both the adventure of "blockading" and the quick and, to the youth, often large money returns.

With but two exceptions the youth had had some work experience. This experience, however, was largely limited either to seasonal and odd jobs or to working for parents on either a part-time or full-time basis. The work itself was almost totally on the unskilled level. Of the total group 188, or 94 percent, were laborers, usually farm hands. Of the remainder, 2 were sharecroppers and 1 was a farm tenant. Five had had some semi-skilled nonfarm experience.⁶ This low occupational level is bound up with the sketchy employment and limited school attainment.

⁶For 2 cases, the type of work experience was unknown.

None of the youth had received any vocational education. Such education as they had had was almost entirely of the traditional three R's type.

The employment aspect of their lives reinforces the picture of a group of young men who are not necessarily vicious or immoral but who are out of step with the organized life of the surrounding community. Scant attention is paid to such youth until some more or less startling or outstanding happening focuses community attention upon them. If the act is a violation of the statutes, it is left to "the law," namely, the law-enforcement officers, to arrest, convict, and punish the offender.

Lack of Property. The members of the group under consideration were old enough to have accumulated some property, considering the fact that they had left school early and had had at least some work experience. Actually the record of job insecurity just noted was such that little property could have been accumulated. Practically no real estate had been acquired. Some ownership of automobiles, almost a necessity in their trade and in rural mobility, some ownership of minor personal property, and a fair (normal in a Negro community) ownership of meager insurance, essentially sum up the picture of property holdings of the group. Only one man had farm equipment; one other had property that could be used to produce a lawful livelihood. Property ownership encourages stability. A propertyless group has one less incentive to stability than those groups which own a stake in the community. Furthermore, interest in law and order, to say the least, is but little encouraged by such poverty as the probationers manifested. In terms of liquor-law violations, the group had little to lose in taking the chance of securing economic gain through illegal manufacture and traffic in liquor. That actually the gain was small is evident from the paucity of possessions.

Limited Mobility. The probationers were highly immobile. Approximately two-thirds (68 percent) of them had spent their entire lives in the same community. An additional one-fourth (28 percent) had lived in only

one other community. Only 10 percent had lived in the community less than 3 years. Thus the group is an indigenous one. The probationers are not the products of a highly urbanized, mechanized civilization. They can be considered only in terms of the rural patterns of thought and living of which they are a part. They are the products primarily of their own immediate rural environments, and their behavior reflects the laxity of the informal social control exercised by the groups to which they belong.

Recreational Activities. The recreational activities of the group were the usual ones for rural young men with limited educational and home backgrounds. More than half of the probationers (56 percent) signified a preference for hunting or fishing or for a combination of the two. Sports, which usually rank high with urban groups, were preferred by only 12 percent. Seventeen percent reported a preference for movies, either alone or in combination with other "recreational" activities. The limited background of the group explains the fact that only two preferred reading; two expressed a preference for automobile riding; and one reported a hobby.

In decided contrast with studies of young leaders in rural communities, few of the youth were subject to the socializing influences and stimulation of formal organizational activity. None of them belonged to lodges, so popular among Negro groups in general. None belonged to unions, although this is understandable in terms of the area and the non-industrial activities of practically all of the youth. Three had belonged to Boy Scout organizations. None had belonged to the 4-H clubs which are widespread throughout the State. This general lack of participation in group organizations was due partly to lack of availability of social or semi-social organizations but even more to the lack of interest in participating in the activities of such groups. Such participation tends to increase in rural areas as educational and economic status rises. Therefore, lack of participation on the part of the probationers was to be expected.

Crime Record. The proportion of recidi-

vism in the group was high, considering the ages of the probationers. Almost one-third (32 percent) of the probationers had had at least one previous conviction (Table 2). Eleven percent had had two or more previous convictions while the 16 year old, who would probably be considered the most incorrigible case in the entire group from the legal point of view, had already had 4 previous convictions.

tion of their illegal activities with the termination of probation may be expected under circumstances normally existing. Most of the youth are ill prepared to make an adequate living because of limited socio-educational background. The direction in which the youth go depends fundamentally upon the availability of a type of economic opportunity to which they can adjust in a socially approved manner. The manufacture and sale

TABLE 2. CRIME RECORD OF 200 NEGRO MALE PROBATIONERS, 16-24 YEARS OF AGE

		Age									
Crime record	Total	16 years	17 years	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 years	22 years	23 years	24 years	
Total	200	10	11	20	19	29	28	28	30	25	
No previous convictions	137	9	7	17	16	18	20	18	20	12	
1 previous conviction	41	..	2	3	2	6	5	7	7	9	
2 previous convictions	15	..	2	..	1	4	2	2	2	2	
3 previous convictions	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
4 previous convictions	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
5 previous convictions .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 previous convictions .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 previous convictions	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

Most of the probationers (80 percent) pleaded guilty to the charge of violating the Federal Revenue Act (Table 3). The most common violation was manufacturing "bootleg" liquor (58 percent). Actually, however, the offenses covered the entire range of violations under the law, namely, transporting liquor, possession of liquor, conspiracy, and sale of liquor as well as liquor manufacturing.

Evaluation of the Situation. The average period of probation for the above types of law violations is 18 months. Since it is usual to think in terms of adjustment and rehabilitation of persons placed on probation, certain conclusions regarding the general situation present themselves. These young men were not criminals in the usual sense of the term. They were persons who lacked an adequate social background in their homes and in their communities. Through knowledge of their personalities and the factors present in their formation, it is recognized that there is nothing fundamental contributing to continuance of the anti-social behavior previously exhibited by the probationers. It is likewise recognized, however, that resump-

tion of their illegal activities with the termination of probation may be expected under circumstances normally existing. Most of the youth are ill prepared to make an adequate living because of limited socio-educational background. The direction in which the youth go depends fundamentally upon the availability of a type of economic opportunity to which they can adjust in a socially approved manner. The manufacture and sale

of bootleg whiskey is not sufficiently exciting or remunerative to induce the Negro youth to engage in such activities unless there are no alternative economic opportunities in the same community or section of the State. When other sources of relatively remunerative employment present themselves, the economic pressure to engage in bootlegging declines.

Under certain conditions, however, violations of the Internal Revenue Law will increase. One of these is an expanding demand for a cheaper type of alcoholic drink than is furnished through regular channels. Another is a reduction in the supplies available through legalized outlets below the demand, a condition existing at the present time. Associated with these situations is the continuing existence of folkways which consider the crime not so much the making of bootleg whiskey as being a Negro with a reputation for delinquent behavior. The types of conduct meeting with group disapproval may have no connection, as such, with liquor-making or liquor-selling activities. To the youth involved, the chief considerations in

bootlegging are not matters of conscience but the economics of obtaining adequate materials and adequate sales, plus the necessity of keeping out of the hands of "the law."

The problem of probation goes beyond that of the individual. It is primarily a problem of improving the socio-educational environment and of developing the economic

opportunities in farming and other rural occupations. The institutional, agricultural, and rural-industrial resources of the rural South need to be developed so as to provide opportunity for all youth. Only when such development occurs will it be possible effectively to counteract the forces which have produced youthful Negro bootleggers.

TABLE 3. PRESENT OFFENSE BY PLEA OF 200 NEGRO MALE PROBATIONERS, 16-24 YEARS OF AGE

Present offense	Total		Plea		
	Number	Percent	Guilty	Not guilty	Unknown
Total	200	100.0	159	39	2
Transporting liquor	62	31.0	52	10	..
Manufacturing liquor	116	58.0	92	23	1
Possession of liquor	5	2.5	4	1	..
Sale of liquor	1	0.5	1	..	..
Conspiracy	9	4.5	6	2	1
Aiding and abetting	7	3.5	4	3	..

WHITE EMPLOYERS AND NEGRO WORKERS*

LOGAN WILSON AND HARLAN GILMORE

University of Kentucky

Tulane University

BETWEEN the exhortations of various federal agencies on the one hand and the execrations of certain Negro newspapers on the other, it is not easy to get very much precise information about the roles actually being played by colored workers in American business and industry. Particularly is this true in the South, where current manpower needs and government rulings come into conflict with many time-worn attitudes and practices. Our purpose is to summarize an investigation of selected aspects of this situation in the spring of 1943. New Orleans, the locale of the study, has a population of more than half-a-million, 30.1 per cent of its total being reported as colored in 1940. A special census tabulation reveals that 32.59 per cent of the 177,312 persons employed in the city in March 1940 were Negroes. The employment of large numbers of Negroes affords, therefore, a wide range of situations for inquiry.

The data presented have been obtained from 175 firms, employing a total of 44,740 persons, 8,306 of whom are Negroes. Since 68.0 per cent of all Negro women employees in the city are in domestic service, and a great many Negro men are also employed as gardeners, etc. (not to mention those who are self-employed), our figures are by no means representative of all Negro workers. The firms sampled, however, are a reasonably adequate cross-section, both as to size and type of enterprise, of the more important kinds of business and industry in New Orleans.¹

To each of the firms a questionnaire was

submitted through the medium of a personal interview² with the personnel manager, owner, or some other responsible individual. The interviews averaged from one to two hours each, and in the majority of cases the questionnaires were completed at the time of the interview. The questionnaire itself called for three kinds of data: (a) general information, such as the number of employees by race and sex (as of February 1, 1939, and February 1, 1943), wages paid, and seasonal nature of the enterprise; (b) information pertaining to the kinds of jobs held by whites and Negroes; and (c) employer experiences with Negro workers. In this last section of the questionnaire, both facts and opinions were obtained. The data given under (a) are to be published elsewhere; our remarks here will be confined to the findings under topics (b) and (c) above.

KINDS OF JOBS HELD BY WHITES AND NEGROES

A purely statistical comparison of the reported experiences of employers with Negro workers is given in Table 1. A brief explanation is in order here, since limited space does not permit a tabulation of all types of responses. For example, of the 50 manufacturing firms making returns, only 17 reported using Negroes and whites at the same job (item B2 in column 1); for the remaining 33 firms, this means that some do not use both races at the same job, some may employ no Negroes, and some failed to make any response on this item.

* For abstract see Conclusions at end of paper.—Ed.

¹ The types of enterprise sampled are as follows: construction; manufacturing; transportation and communications; wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; personal services; amusement, recreation, and retail services; professional and related services; government; miscellaneous (hotels, buildings, etc.).

² A letter of introduction previously mailed out by an important local organization of business and professional men interested in the study proved to be an invaluable entrée for the interviewer, since a great many employers have become "allergic" to questionnaires, and especially so to those sponsored by governmental and related types of agencies of a civic nature.

Most of the employers using Negroes exclusively for certain jobs (item B1) listed the following as the most common forms of employment: laborers, truck drivers, porters, helpers, warehousemen, sweepers, utility men, delivery men, track laborers, pressers, clean-

Where the same jobs are performed by both whites and colored, (item B2) some of those jobs are unskilled and some skilled. In construction, both whites and Negroes are employed as helpers, carpenters, bricklayers, mechanic's helpers, and common la-

TABLE 1. REPORTED EXPERIENCES WITH NEGRO WORKERS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT (1943)

Questionnaire Items	Construction	Manufacturing	Transportation, etc.	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Finance, Insurance, etc.	Business and Repair Services	Personal Services	Amusement, recreation etc.	Professional and related Services	Government	Miscellaneous (Hotels, Buildings, etc.)	Totals for All Types ¹
Number of firms or agencies reporting	14	50	14	50	5	9	8	6	4	7	8	175
Number reporting Negroes and whites working at same jobs (B2)	5	17	6	10	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	44
Now using Negroes where not used in 1939 (B3)	2	12	1	7	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	27
Anticipating using Negroes (B4)	0	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	9
Temporarily using Negroes (B5)	0	8	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	16
Listing jobs for Negroes which require apprenticeship (B6)	6	8	3	4	0	1	0	2	0	1	3	28
Employing Negroes at jobs requiring specialized training (B7)	12	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	22
Finding Negroes unsatisfactory for certain jobs (C8)	2	7	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	19
Listing types of jobs where Negroes surpass whites (C9)	4	10	4	9	0	2	2	1	0	1	2	35
Making policy changes resulting from manpower shortages (C13)	1	14	4	15	1	1	1	1	0	2	2	42
Listing Negroes who are exceptions to their general policy (C14)	3	5	2	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	19
Reporting labor union interference in employment of Negroes (C15)	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Reporting labor union complaints about firm's policy (C16)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Altering policy as a result of racial strife (C17)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4
Offering advice on employer policy (C18)	1	18	6	10	0	3	1	1	1	2	2	45

ers, dishwashers, packers, cooks, maids, chauffeurs, janitors, elevator operators, tire changers, and hospital attendants for colored patients. It is clear that the Negro is employed exclusively only in unskilled jobs.³

³ It is relevant to note here, however, that the Negro almost monopolizes the bricklaying and plastering trades, and does a large share of local house painting.

borers; in manufacturing, as canvas workers, porters, truck drivers, sorters, spinners and corders, sprayers, delivery men, cutters and pressers, packers, and painters. A few manufacturing concerns reported using both races at all except office jobs, but most of those who reported an absence of racial differentiation did so only for unskilled and partly skilled levels. Both races are reported work-

ing as shop laborers, car repairmen, mechanic's helpers, stewards, and longshoremen in transportation industries. In wholesale and retail trades, whites and Negroes work at the same jobs principally as warehousemen, messengers, elevator operators, porters and truck drivers; in government, as clerks and carriers (Post Office), common laborers; in miscellaneous, as utility and repair men.

Manufacturing, and wholesale and retail trades are the principal types of enterprise now using Negroes for jobs for which they were not used in 1939 (item B3). Here are some typical positive responses on this item from all categories of employers: "all jobs but truck drivers," "on milk routes," "spinning and cording," "truck helpers," "stock-room workers," "truck drivers," and "maids." A number of employers indicated that they anticipate using Negroes where they are not used now (item B4), but few specified particular jobs, typical statements being "will use them if necessary anywhere," "will use them if we can't get white men," "will have to use Negro help more, but do not know to what extent." Only 16 employers who responded out of the total group of 175 listed jobs in which they are using Negroes temporarily as a result of the shortage of white workers (item B5); some of the jobs thus specified were as follows: helpers, truck drivers, laborers, milk route drivers, foremen, delivery men. Some of the principal apprenticeship requirements of jobs for Negroes (item B6) were as follows: "required in all union crafts," "only what the trades require," "bricklaying," "cutting and pressing," "all jobs, for both white and Negro," "paint mixers," "as pressers," "all our jobs." Only in construction and in manufacturing did an appreciable number of employers list jobs requiring specialized training other than apprenticeship for Negroes (item B7), and even in these instances most of the respondents were inclined to interpret the former term rather loosely.

EXPERIENCE WITH NEGRO WORKERS

In detailing their experiences with Negro workers, employers were asked (item C8)

whether they had found them unable to do any jobs in which they had tried to use them, and, if so, to specify what jobs and why they were unsuccessful. Out of the 175 employers questioned, 19 replied affirmatively. Some typical replies from this latter group are as follows:

We find most of them unable to understand technical jobs.

They are not so good in the crafts jobs for which they hire themselves.

We only tolerate them because we can't get whites; they are not doing their jobs well.

Can't make simple packages; many can't read and write.

They often misrepresent their training and experience.

We have tried them unsuccessfully in many jobs, but we have had the same experience with similar types of whites.

It should be borne in mind, however, that these are not typical employer experiences with Negro workers, since those responding in the manner illustrated above were in a decided minority.

Consistent with the evaluations expressed in Table 3 is the fact that various employers claim to have found Negro workers better than white workers (item C9) at heavy labor, as porters, as longshoremen, as truck drivers, as tire changers, in laundry work, at cleaning jobs, and in the kitchen.

The kinds of segregation practiced (item C10) are given in the table below:

TABLE 2. EMPLOYERS' SEGREGATION PRACTICES

Type of Segregation Practice	Number of Employers Using Practice
Same place of work but different jobs	135
Same place of work but different times	0
Different place of work but same job	6
Different place of work and different job	4
Dressing rooms only	10
No segregation at all	12
No response or no Negroes employed	8

From the trait comparisons of white and Negro workers (item C11), it is interesting to note that the latter were rated superior

by a majority of the employers in only two respects—ability to stand heat, and capacity for heavy manual labor. A statistical summation is given in table 3.

Do not put them in supervisory positions; one Negro will not work for another.

Give them continued employment when they prove proficient.

TABLE 3. EMPLOYERS' EVALUATIONS OF WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS

Trait	Negroes Superior	No Noticeable Difference	Whites Superior	No Opinion
Ability to learn new jobs	—	47	68	40
Little absenteeism	6	69	69	31
Speed of work	6	61	81	27
Ability to stand heat	72	58	7	38
Willingness to follow instructions	9	72	58	36
Initiative	—	15	132	28
Capacity for heavy manual labor	101	31	14	29
General dependability	4	63	81	27
Willingness to work with other racial groups	33	73	7	62

Questionnaire items 12 through 17 had to do with employment policy. Some varied responses concerning policy in the past (1938-1940) with reference to the hiring and promotion of Negroes (item C12) are as follows:

We are just now beginning to employ Negroes and so we do not know how they may be promoted.

We use them as laborers and truck drivers only.

We have no work where they can be promoted.

Negroes are treated the same as whites.

Our firm hires Negroes only because it has to, and does not promote them.

Some have been promoted to be straw bosses for Negro gangs.

We promote them the same as whites; some are in executive positions and do very well.

No opportunity to promote them; used as laborers but not at desk jobs.

Promote them as they earn promotion.

Their pay is raised but that is all.

They are never used in supervisory positions.

More money and better jobs when they prove faithful and capable; have one good Negro making \$44 a week.

Promoted same as whites, but not into executive positions.

Use them only as porters.

Only one type of job for Negroes.

Can't promote them in our business; our customers would object.

Have never hired any Negroes.

These preceding statements suggest the range of responses, but not their distribution. Although a few employers indicated the same past policy with reference to both white and colored, the vast majority said that the Negro employee has little opportunity for being hired at any sort of work except manual labor, or of ever receiving any sort of advancement except, in some instances, an increase in pay that stops at a rather low ceiling.

Approximately one-fourth of all the employers queried have made changes in general policy as a result of the manpower shortage caused by the war (item C13). Where there has been a change, as might be anticipated, the trend has been toward employing more women and more Negroes. Some firms have hired more women, but not more Negroes; a few are using Negro women where Negro men were used formerly. A number have made general increases in wages as a matter of policy in order to retain their employees. Two railroads are using Negro women as track laborers to replace Negro men, and white women to replace white men in clerical jobs. A number are substituting colored waitresses for white waitresses. Still others complain that they have had to reduce their numbers of employ-

ees because of inability to find capable workers of any sort.

Occasional firms state that they have (or have had in the past) Negroes in their employ, who, because of unusual circumstances or other special reasons, are exceptions to their general employment policy (item C14). The exceptional Negro, when treated as an individual and not as a member of a group, is often given more pay than the set scale, or made a straw boss, promoted to rank of foreman, given clerical responsibilities, or otherwise advanced or rewarded in some way which is contrary to the employer's usual policy. Long service was usually combined with unusual aptitude in the cases so specified.

Only six firms mentioned having been prevented from employing Negroes in any capacity as a result of labor union influence (item C15), and only two stated having had objections from labor union groups to any part of their policy concerning the employment of Negroes (item C16).⁴ One firm mentioned that unions of skilled craftsmen would not permit them to employ Negroes as machinists, boiler washers, etc. Another stated that if Negro mechanics with union cards (obtained in the North) were hired, their white mechanics would walk out. The remaining respondents did not specify the nature of the interferences or objections from labor unions. Only four firms report having to alter their labor policy because of strife between white and Negro workers since the war began (C17); in each case the open conflict was quickly adjusted without any serious consequences.

WHITE EMPLOYERS' OPINIONS

Forty-five firms or agencies responded affirmatively to the question, "Have you any advice on Negro employment policy growing

⁴These responses are not indicative of the total situation in New Orleans. Although additional welders are needed in certain local industries, Negroes who complete the training program in welding at Xavier University and at the N.Y.A. Training school are unable to obtain union memberships here and are transported without cost to themselves to California and to Connecticut, where they are permitted to join unions and obtain employment as welders.

out of your experience which you think might be of aid to other employers?" (item C18). The range of counsel is suggested by the following quotations:

Their qualifications are very limited and they should be employed only as laborers—not in a supervisory capacity as a rule.

Employ only the better educated Negroes.

They need strict supervision.

Many employers find Negro workers unsatisfactory because they simply run ads or send out notices and hire those who come in. We get very satisfactory Negro employees by having colored organizations, such as the Urban League, hand-pick them for us.

If you can get white men, don't hire Negroes. Negroes are really good only at manual labor.

Pay them according to ability, and not color.

Treat them with kindness and fairness, and not with familiarity to get the best results.

We have experienced no difficulty in using white and colored employees side by side on the same job in most instances. We find it advisable to maintain separate dressing rooms, wash rooms and toilet facilities, as well as separate eating places in our commissary. We do not segregate them when paying off, and have no difficulty on this point. Most colored employees who have been with us for ten years or more are very loyal and hard workers.

Don't make race an issue; fair play with the Negro gets best results.

Find the work for which they are best fitted and keep them there.

Put them in the positions where they belong, and segregate them from whites as much as possible.

We find that when we treat the Negro with the same justice as the white man he works better, with greater interest and with more regularity.

We have tried to work Negroes and whites in the same place and at the same jobs, but had trouble.

We give them a rule book, insist that they read it and follow the rules. There is no racial discrimination in rates of pay for the same jobs.

Our policy has been successful. All of our employees work under an agreement and under

It is also known to employers that many unions prevent the full utilization of Negro skills by not allowing upgrading of experienced colored workers.

a bonus system. Negroes of long service are treated the same as whites. They are included in our pension plans and in group insurance.

Negroes have to be told to do the same thing every day—that is, those now available.

We would not advise employing Negroes except for heavy manual labor.

No advice to give except to raise Negro wages.

Negroes must be ruled with an iron hand. Praise them for their good acts, but keep temptations out of their way, for they are not strong enough yet in character to resist them constantly.

Train Negroes better. Educated Negroes are a little harder to handle, but they are much more of an asset to an organization.

Show the whites how to treat Negroes and how to work with them.

The last item on the questionnaire (item C19) read as follows: "In your opinion, what are the most critical unsolved white-Negro personnel problems? What do you think *should be* the solution? What do you think *will be* the solution?" The vast majority of all the employers interviewed responded; since a great many of these men are very outstanding individuals in the life of the community, their opinions are highly pertinent elements in what will eventually be done about racial aspects of labor supply and employment in New Orleans. A random sampling of their reactions is indicated in the following quotations:

There is much racial unrest due to the fact of the war and the high wages of the Negro, and his having more money to spend. Mrs. Roosevelt, Willkie, and the Negro newspapers are stirring up trouble; disturbance also results from the Negro soldier being shown the same consideration as the white soldier. If this war ends suddenly and we get back to normalcy, and the Negroes' wages are cut, they will lose their arrogance, and become submissive. If matters go further, the South will not stand for it. The Negro's best friend is the Southerner. If the North will let the South alone, it can handle the race problem.

We should inform Negro women especially how well off they are, and how much trouble they may get into. The work should be done through women.

The Negro should remain in his own enter-

prises if he expects to become an executive; he should never expect to become one over white people. The Negro should have enough education to work, earn a fair living, and take care of himself.

Strict segregation is the best solution of personnel problems of a racial nature. As soon as we begin to mix whites with Negroes there will be trouble.

Plans should be made to form a definite policy and to let the two races live and work peacefully in the same land, but separately.

This is a question which requires careful thought and study to work out a plan whereby the Negro can work and earn a livelihood and become self-sustaining in the community where he lives.

Doubt that there will be trouble, but it would be a good idea to watch the situation and probably talk things out by publicity.

Education in trades and skills to which they are adapted and training to get them to appreciate and respect the efforts of others in promoting their advancement.

The critical unsolved white-Negro personnel problem is the desire of the Negro to be on an equal footing with the white man, but still to maintain the colored man's "privilege" of being absolutely carefree about everything and trusting the employer to take care of him at all times. It is hard to visualize at this time just what the solution will be, especially in areas where the number of colored people in a community is larger than the number of white people. I feel that the Negro has a part to play in the coming civilization picture and I believe that he should be fairly well-educated, and that well-educated Negroes, such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional men, could best serve the community by confining their work to the colored inhabitants living in their community.

I think there is race trouble brewing. The only way to stop trouble is to handle Negroes with a firm hand. The situation should be watched carefully and studied. Newspapers are misleading the Negro. Also, Negro soldiers and white men too from the North are stirring up trouble. We cannot put Negroes in our office; everybody would quit, beginning with the manager.

Don't think there is a problem; that is, we do not think there will be any race trouble.

But we believe a policy will have to be formed. We will have to decide what position we, the white people, will take. We must either accept them as equal or consider them a subject race.

Education is no panacea, but I do not know the answer. Certainly, the purchasing power of the Negro must be increased. I suspect that after the war, skilled whites will step in and get all the better jobs now held by Negroes.

The white man's attitude toward the Negro is the cause of much unrest, and the white man should be shown this.

The Negro is uneducated, improvident, and irresponsible. The solution is to educate him.

The problem is that the white craftsman will not work side by side with the Negro. The solution is the biggest question the South faces.

There is trouble coming. The Negroes are very insulting without cause. It is hard to teach them anything, but they should be told that they are on the wrong track.

Don't know of any special difficulty. If trouble is developing, the way to avoid it is to give them their rights and have strict segregation.

We think the Negro should be taught to read and write, but nothing more. We don't hire Negroes because we don't trust them. They work only when strictly supervised.

The Negro is dependent on the white man, and if he understands this we will all get on better. He should not try to take things in his own hands, for in the end the white man has to settle his difficulties, whatever they are.

It is a good idea for white employers to talk things out with Negro employees.

There will be an employment problem, not a race problem. The Negro should be educated and properly led by education of his own race if trouble is to be averted in the future.

The Negro will not work full time. If he makes a high wage, he works fewer days a week. The solution is regimentation.

If we expect the Negro to work better, we cannot expect him to work cheaper.

The Negro was created for the purpose of being a servant, and possesses natural, inherent qualifications superior to any other. Therefore he should be educated to perfect and refine himself in his calling. The Negro should be taught that he is always to be subservient to the white race regardless of his position. He should not have equality with the white man in business nor in politics, nor in social activities.

This does not limit him in achieving success or position in his own rank.

There will be serious trouble in the South and in this city unless the Negro is guided and instructed by white people, and unless white people too are instructed concerning their attitudes toward the Negro.

CONCLUSIONS

Without detailed elaboration or interpretation, the conclusions emerging from this inquiry may be summarized as follows:

1. Negroes are employed exclusively, with but few exceptions, in unskilled jobs only.
2. For the most part, Negroes and whites work at the same jobs only as manual laborers. One-fourth of the employers interviewed reported some Negroes and whites working at the same jobs.
3. Of the employers sampled, 15.4 percent are now using Negroes where they did not in 1939, 5.1 percent anticipate using Negroes, and 9.1 percent are using Negroes only temporarily as a result of the shortage of white workers.
4. Sixteen percent of the employers list jobs for Negroes requiring apprenticeship, and 12.5 percent employ Negroes at jobs requiring specialized training. This squares with the finding presented in number 1 above.
5. Only 10.8 percent of the firms have found Negroes as a group unsatisfactory at jobs where they have been tried out. Failure was encountered largely in skilled jobs where Negroes were on the whole handicapped by their general ignorance and lack of training.
6. Twenty percent of the employers consider Negroes better than whites as truck drivers, porters, manual laborers, and similar types of workers.
7. Only 12 out of 175 employers practice no segregation at all. The most common type of segregation is to employ the two races at different types of jobs within the organization; 135 employers have this practice.
8. In the employers' evaluations of traits according to the race of the worker, the Negro was considered superior in only two of nine items—his ability to stand heat and his capacity for heavy manual labor. Many employers withheld opinions concerning specific traits or considered that there is no noticeable difference by race. Whites were rated definitely superior to Negroes in ability to learn new jobs, in speed

of work, in initiative, and in general dependability.

9. Although some firms state that it is their policy to treat Negroes the same as whites in employee capacities, most firms acknowledge a differential policy for the two races in the matter of hiring and promotion. The majority hire Negroes only for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs where there is little opportunity for advancement in pay or promotion in responsibility.

10. As a result of the manpower shortage caused by the war, many firms (24.0 percent) now have a policy of hiring more Negro workers and women workers.

11. Occasionally (among 10.8 percent of the employers) an exception is made of a Negro worker, who, because of special circumstances, is treated as an individual rather than being typed in advance as a member of his group to be treated according to set limitations, irrespective of his personal merits.

12. Very few employers mention labor union interference in the employment of Negroes or labor union complaints about their policies. This lack of friction may result from employers and unions being in substantial agreement, or it may simply indicate that few instances have arisen in which employers have tried to buck union policies.

13. An insignificant percentage (2.2) of employers report having had to alter their employment policies as a result of racial strife.

14. Approximately one-fourth of all the firms or agencies interviewed offered advice on employment policy. This advice was so varied that it is difficult to summarize, since it ranged all the way from recommending that no Negroes be employed at all as long as whites are available, to advocating the complete abolition of racial distinctions in dealing with employees. The general tenor of many recommendations was to the effect that a differential policy be established for Negroes, and that they be treated fairly within the limitations of this policy.

15. Most of the employers feel that the racial aspects of labor supply and employment in New Orleans, as well as throughout much of the rest of the country, present many critical problems which must be solved. Opinions concerning what should be and what will be the solution show a wide range of variation. Leading solutions proposed are: strict segregation, the formation of a more definite policy, making the Negro self-sustaining in the community, more education and training for colored people, developing more tolerance and understanding among whites, strict supervision and even complete regimentation of Negroes, and general improvement of the Negro's earning power.

RURAL COOPERATIVE SELF-HELP ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST*

JOE J. KING

Farm Security Administration¹

ARE rural co-operative self-help activities, organized during the late '30's depression period, still operating?" is a question frequently asked. An affirmative answer comes from a review of the work which Farm Security Administration has accomplished in the Pacific Northwest. Not only are many of the original FSA co-operative self-help activities continuing to operate successfully. They are also contributing, in most cases, directly and significantly to the all-out war drive. Co-operative self-help activities among small farmers, if organized to meet a distinct economic or social need, are fundamentally sound and are of lasting value.

An almost traditional opinion seems to exist among many economists and some sociologists that rural co-operative self-help activities tend to fade out of the picture during "boom periods," and that periods of full employment invalidate their basic objectives. The purpose of this short paper is to show that contrary to much belief, periods of full employment not only intensify rural co-operative self-help activities but also enable them to make important contributions both to the war drive and to post-war stability.

I

Farm Security Administration, in meeting depression problems of rural poverty and rural rehabilitation² in the Pacific North-

west, did not deliberately start with preconceived notions of promoting co-operative activities among low-income farm families. The agency early found, however, that frequently one low-income farmer alone could not obtain a needed machine, a needed livestock sire, a needed service, a needed market outlet, etc. But, if several low-income or small farmers joined hands in mutual self-help, they could successfully progress in economic and social worth. Through pooling their common interests and thereby strengthening their individual initiative, they could rehabilitate themselves and reach a position where they were no longer dependent upon direct governmental aid. Small farmers often recognized this situation and frequently requested co-operative assistance from county FSA supervisors. Slowly and pragmatically FSA began to place increasing emphasis on a program of co-operative self-help activities among small farmers.

This co-operative program, confined chiefly to small farmers unable to obtain financial credit from any other source, has grown quietly and without glamour to significant proportions in the Pacific Northwest. In the states of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, as of June 30, 1943, there were more than 120 FSA assisted cooperative associations in operation. Only five associations were delinquent over six months in principal payments on their direct loan.³ About 10,000

Washington, D.C., on May 11, 1943. At present the Report of the Proceedings of Hearings before the Committee are available in mimeographed pamphlets. A review of the reports provides an insight into the nature of rural problems which confronted FSA. Also see: Joseph Gaer *Toward Farm Security* 1941—U. S. Government Printing Office—Washington. John D. Black "The Work of the Farm Security Administration" statement in Hearings before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, House of Representatives, 77th Congress, Second Session, pursuant to H. Res. 113, Part 28, February 12, 13, 1942, on pp. 10870-10879.

³"Monthly Report of FSA Activities," June,

*Adapted from a talk given at the conference "Planning Maximum Production in 1944 for Small Farmers" August 3, 4, 5, 1943, Portland, Oregon. This paper does not cover the FSA health program, which is an important subject in itself. Acknowledgment is made to Wilbur Staats for helpful criticism. [For abstract see final paragraph.—Ed.]

¹Region XI.

²A comprehensive study into the policies and operations of Farm Security Administration is being made by the Special Committee of the Committee on Agriculture, Investigating the Farm Security Administration, U. S. House of Representatives. The first public meeting of the Committee was held in

farm families are participating in these co-operative associations. Furthermore, during the past 6 years more than 1800 FSA group services have been established. A group service is where two or more small farmers agree to use the same equipment, service, or property. It is estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 farm families are participating in these group services.

All FSA co-operative activities are firmly based on sound and realistic economic considerations. FSA does not indiscriminately assist in the establishment of co-ops. The agency always examines each case very carefully, determining whether or not the expressed "need" of the small farmers can be adequately met by existing private or co-operative enterprise. Where existing facilities are available and adequate, small farmers are encouraged to use them. But if such facilities are non-existent, the small farmers are urged to study their common needs, to analyze the economic factors involved, and to develop practical co-operative solutions. When this "study" course is followed,⁴ seldom, if ever, are the co-ops constructed in needless competition with existing facilities or simply on relief conceptions. Small farmers themselves develop and direct their voluntary co-operative organization.⁵

1943, prepared by Program Analysis Unit, Farm Security Administration, Portland, Oregon. Table 4-H, page 22. This June report carries considerable statistical data on the FSA cooperative program.

⁴Neighborhood study groups, composed of FSA borrowers and other small farmers, are functioning in several rural areas. A short description of how the groups function in the Pacific Northwest can be found in the author's article: "Cooperative Development among Low-income Rural Families in the Pacific Northwest," *Social Forces*, Vol. 21, pp. 194-198, December, 1942.

⁵The 1944 Agricultural Appropriation's Act for 1944 prohibits FSA from "the carrying on of any operations in collective farming, or co-operative farming, or the organization, promotion or management of homestead associations, land-leasing associations, land-purchasing associations, or co-operative land purchasing for colonies of rehabilitants or tenant purchases"; from making direct loans to co-operative associations; and from making individual "loans for the payment of dues to or the purchase of any share or stock interest in any cooperative association (except for medical, dental or hospital services)." Public Law 129, 78th Congress, Chapter

Examples of the more than 120 FSA co-operative self-help associations in the Pacific Northwest are many and varied. Each association at its start was unable to obtain financial credit from any other source. To begin with is the Ola Self-help Co-operative. In 1935 thirty-six farm families in the mountains of Gem County, Idaho, organized the Ola Self-help Co-operative. During the long winters, lasting from December 1 to about March 20, there was little income from their small-scale farming operations. In order to increase their economic income and also to build necessary farm buildings, the association constructed a small lumber sawmill. Farming was the principle occupation of the co-op members; but nonetheless, Ola farm families found enough time to operate the mill. At present the association's lumber production is going almost exclusively into war use. "The prospects appear brighter than usual for a successful operating year. The officers expressed the sentiment that anything less than capacity operations this year would be sabotaging the war effort. Furthermore, they expected to retire all their obligations (FSA loan \$3,870) during the present period of high prices; probably by the end of 1944."⁶ The association is not only helping to raise the Ola community's economic worth. It is also aiding to maintain the individual initiative and self-respect of the small farmer members.

Another example of FSA co-operative self-help activities is the Lake Chelan Co-operative. In 1939 three north central Washington apple growers, having a combined apple acreage of 32½ acres, discovered that the cost of commercial packing left them little profit. They organized the Lake Chelan Co-operative. Each obtained an individual FSA loan of \$960 at 3% interest. They pooled their financial interests in the co-operative organization and proceeded to pack their

215, 1st Session, H.R. 2481, "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for other purposes." FSA in the Pacific Northwest has not helped to establish co-operative farming projects.

⁶Quoted from unpublished June 16, 1943, memorandum, prepared by L. K. Saum, Senior Co-operative Specialist, FSA Region XI.

apples co-operatively. Loan repayments are proceeding favorably. The organization's success is attested to by the members' statement: "You can't quote us too much on our praise for the co-op," they said, "but remember one thing—a co-op is no stronger than the individuals in it."⁷

Not far distant from Lake Chelan is another noteworthy example, the Okanogan Valley Growers cannery. This co-operative began in late 1941 when the privately owned cannery, the only processing plant for the valley's tomato crop, headed for bankruptcy. Small farmers organized a co-operative association, borrowed \$18,000 from FSA, and took over the cannery. In 1942 the association returned to growers \$17 a ton for tomatoes, plus \$3.30 in retained refund credits. This \$20.30 was about twice as much as the \$10.50 a ton paid by the private packer in 1941. In 1943 the co-operative is planning to pack 50,000 cases of tomatoes, compared to its 23,000 cases in 1942. An important addition of vitamin-rich food is being made to our supply of war food.

Still another example is the Valley Vegetable Growers Association. When in 1942 the Japanese truck gardeners were evacuated from the White River Valley in Western Washington, many Filipino farm laborers leased the land formerly worked by the Japanese, borrowed operating funds, and labored to produce food for freedom. One of the several problems which immediately confronted the Filipino farmers was the necessity of having an efficient marketing organization. With the help of Extension Service and FSA representatives, the Filipinos organized the Valley Vegetable Growers Association. No money was borrowed. Operating capital was built up from the small contributions of about 38 members. FSA provided technical assistance in the preparation of co-operative marketing agreements, organizational pattern, and accounting system. This Filipino Association asks: "Do you know that Farmers' Co-operatives, like the Valley Vegetable Growers Association, Inc., enables

you, First, to buy your needs with good saving? Second, to help one another in solving your individual problems? Third, to co-operate with the Government for better production for Victory? Fourth, to create better understanding among yourselves as farmers, with the processors, the wholesalers, and the consuming public? And lastly, to make farming a profitable enterprise by reducing the cost of production?"⁸

Further examples of co-operative associations only require mention. In 1940 with FSA financial help about 22 western Oregon potato growers organized the Troutdale Potato Growers' co-operative association. The co-operative is successfully engaged in the war-important job of providing storage for certified potato seed. In 1938 in Clallam County, Washington, 5 farmers organized the Agnew Land Clearing Service. Payments on the \$9,000 loan, which was used to purchase a large caterpillar tractor, commonly known as a "bull-dozer," are current. The service is clearing fertile stump-land, necessary for maintaining an increased food production base in the population-swollen Puget Sound area.⁹ There are also creameries, cheese plants, seed cleaning plants, consumer co-operative stores, forest "harvesting" organizations, purchasing and marketing associations, community center canneries, and the like. All are contributing in one way or another to the all-out war drive.

Then, too, FSA group services are continually demonstrating the long-time permanent utility of co-operative self help among small farmers.¹⁰ In peace time, efficiency in farm operations frequently requires that small farmers "share" heavy and expensive farm

⁷ Program for Valley Vegetable Growers Association, Inc., membership rally, February 20, 1943, Auburn, Washington.

⁸ U. S. Census Bureau estimates that Washington civilian population increased 7.2 percent between April 1, 1940 and March 1, 1943. Most of the increase was in areas of greatest war activities. Washington release, printed in *Oregon Journal*, August 4, 1943, Portland, Oregon.

⁹ Benson Y. Landis, *A Co-operative Economy*, 1943, Association Press, New York. Chapter 5, "Productive Homesteads," and particularly the section, "New Kinds of Co-ops," pp. 55-63.

¹⁰ "So They're Co-operating" *The Wenatchee (Washington) Daily World*, Friday, July 18, 1942.

equipment. A small farmer with 40 or 50 acres often cannot afford a tractor or a combine. He uses the machine only a few days and the individual investment does not pay. However, if 4 or 5 neighbors get together and jointly purchase a tractor, they can share its use through planned rotation and thus have modern equipment. What is an uneconomic investment for one small farmer, is a sound investment for 4 or 5 farmers. In war time, the sharing of available farm equipment becomes urgent. Metal is needed for guns as well as for hay rakes, for battleships as well as for tractors. Farm machines can hardly be allowed to stand unnecessarily idle. Techniques for group use among small farmers not only are economically sound. They are also war-essential. They are contributing directly to full employment of scarce farm machinery.

Near Pasco, Washington, for example, two small farmers in 1941 established the Cresswell-Stone Tractor Service with equal contributions of \$475. The participants are co-operatively using the tractor for their individual, mutual, and nation's benefit in raising a maximum amount of war crops. Near Sandpoint, Idaho, four small farmers organized the Pack River Spreader Service with equal contributions of \$45. Hundreds of additional examples can be quickly described. Many group services purchase second-hand equipment, repair it, and place it in full operation. They provide practically every kind of farm machine, as well as pure bred sires, pressure cookers, etc. Evidence repeatedly reveals that many of these group services, organized in the depression '30's, are continuing to operate to the advantage of the participants. Failures arise chiefly from: (1) lack of adequate original understanding among participants; (2) long distances between participants; and (3) lack of competent management.¹¹

¹¹ This author is preparing an article on "FSA Group Services in the Pacific Northwest." The article covers in more detail the organization and operation of group services, particularly in their adaptability for helping to meet post-war problems of European small farmers. See "A Nation Rebuilds," a pamphlet on the story of the Chinese

II

The need for voluntary co-operative self-help among underemployed¹² small farmers in the Pacific Northwest is as strong today as it ever was. Small farmers are not going to be eliminated suddenly over-night.¹³ Farm Security Administration in Idaho-Oregon-Washington, as of June 30, 1943, has 12,737 active borrower farm families. All are unable to obtain financial credit from another source. In addition, the agency has 3090 "collection only" cases which require minimum FSA supervision. These 15,827 small farm families,¹⁴ if they are going to make their maximum contribution to the war drive and succeed in steadily improving their standard of living, must participate in co-operative self-help activities.

Two BAE social scientists, Paul Jehlik and Olaf Larson, after summarizing reports made by county FSA supervisors, estimate that in the Pacific Northwest 15,374 low-income farmers *not now aided by FSA* could increase food production if certain specific obstacles were overcome. The obstacles and the farm families involved are: (1) lack of adequate farm units, 14,604 farm families; (2) lack of adequate power, machinery, and equipment, 6,049 farm families; (3) lack of adequate sire service, 2,073 farm families; (4) lack of transportation facilities, 1,576 farm families; and (5) lack of adequate

Industrial Co-operatives, Indusco, Inc., New York City, 1943.

¹² Philip G. Hammer and Robert R. Buck, "Idle Manpower," *Land Policy Review*, Vol. 5, pp. 9-18, April, 1942; John C. Ellickson and John M. Brewster, "Manpower and the American Farm Plant," *Land Policy Review*, Vol. 5, pp. 17-22, May, 1942; Claude R. Wickard, "The Challenge of Underemployment on Farms," address before National Catholic Rural Life Conference at Peoria, Illinois, October 5, 1942.

¹³ Some of the theoretical issues involved are covered in the articles and discussion on "Schisms in Agricultural Policy," by Mordecai Ezekiel, Murray R. Benedict, John B. Canning, T. W. Schultz, and A. B. Wolfe, *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 24, pp. 463-517, May, 1942.

¹⁴ "Monthly Report of FSA Activities," June, 1943, prepared by Program Analysis Unit, Farm Security Administration, Portland, Oregon, Table 1-A, page 1. The 1940 U. S. Census reports 187,178 farms in Idaho, Oregon and Washington.

marketing facilities, 1,893 farm families.¹⁵ With the exception of the lack of adequate farm units, all these obstacles are subject to effective attack by co-operative self-help activities. It should be noted, however, that the obstacle of a lack of adequate farm units may be successfully overcome by a vigorous operation of the FSA tenant purchase program.

III

Rural co-operative self-help activities need not, and should not be, peculiar phenomena of economic depressions. If they can better

¹⁵ Paul J. Jehlik and Olaf F. Larson, "Obstacles to Increased War-Food Production by Low-Income Farmers," Release Number 3, 1942, Family Progress Report, Farm Security Administration, Cincinnati, Ohio, June 7, 1943.

the position of the small farmer¹⁶ in periods of depression, they can contribute even more under relatively prosperous conditions. Surely few persons after a careful study of the economic and social significance of sound efficient co-operative self-help, such as represented by the examples given, can doubt that this type of voluntary co-operative activity has stable and lasting permanence.¹⁷

¹⁶ A thrilling story on small farmers in another part of the United States is found in Arthur Raper's new book *Tenants of the Almighty*, 1943, Macmillan, New York.

¹⁷ Howard R. Tolley, *The Farmer Citizen at War*, 1943, Macmillan, New York, Chapter 6, "A War of all the People," particularly the section, "Making the Four Freedoms Come True," pp. 176-208. A provocative article on potentialities of "co-operation" from the biological point of view is written by W. C. Allee, "Where Angels Fear to Tread: A Contribution from General Sociology to Human Ethics," *Science*, Vol. 97, pp. 517-525, June 11, 1943.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

Hotel McAlpin, New York City, December 4 and 5, 1943

Saturday, December 4, 8:30 A.M.

Registration. Registration desk, Hotel McAlpin, Colonial Room.

Saturday, December 4, 9:00—10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting. Reports of committees and representatives of the Society.
Colonial Room.

Saturday, December 4, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

Social Research. Raymond V. Bowers, National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Chairman. Room F.

"A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Guided Participation in Extra-curricular Activities to the Scholastic Achievement and Social Adjustment of College Students," Reuben Hill, University of South Dakota.

"Techniques of Social Reform: An Analysis of the Dry Movement," Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University.

"Reliability of the Idea-Centered Question in Interview Schedules," Morton B. King, Jr., Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

Papers will be followed by open discussion.

Social Theory. J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Chairman. Room C.
General Topic: Some Contributions of Social Theory to Post-War World Organization.

"The Minimal Institutional Essentials for World Organization," Cecil C. North, Ohio State University.

"Regionalism and a Permanent Peace," Harry E. Moore, University of Texas.

"World Planning: What is Involved?," J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska.

"Global Opinion and the Maintenance of Peace," Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University.

Population. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Chairman. Colonial Room.

General Topic: International Implications of Recent Population Trends.

"Population Trends in the Soviet Union," Frank Lorimer, American University.

"Population Trends in Japan," Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington.

Discussants: Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University, and Bruno Lasker, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Social Psychology. Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Chairman. El Patio.

General Topic: The Social Psychology of Americans: Nationalist Versus Internationalist Implications.

"The Role of Intellectuals in Post-War Policy," Robert K. Merton, Columbia University.

"Attitudes of Farmers Toward the Post-War World," Carl C. Taylor, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

"Attitudes of Negroes Toward the Post-War World," E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University.

"Attitudes of Labor Toward the Post-War World," Mark Starr, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Discussant: Otto Klineberg, Columbia University.

Saturday, December 4, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

Latin America. Donald Young, Social Science Research Council, Presiding. El Patio.

Locality Group Structure in Latin America. T. Lynn Smith, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Brazil); Carl C. Taylor, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Argentina).

General Session. Post-War Society. Frank H. Hankins, Smith College, Presiding. Colonial Room.

"Population Changes and the Post-War World," Dudley Kirk, Princeton University.

"The Implications of Economic Planning for Social Organization," Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University.

"Minority Groups and the Post-War World," Robert M. MacIver, Columbia University.

"Some Psychological Cross-Currents That May Affect Peace Plans," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

Saturday, December 4, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Community and Ecology. Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Chairman. Room F.

"The Ecology of Political Parties: A Case and A Critique," Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University.

"Geopolitics and the Theory of Regionalism," Werner J. Cahnman, Fisk University.

"Metropolitan Ecology and Rural Regionalism: A Needed Integration in Theory," James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati.

"The Relation of Human Ecology to General Sociology," Milia Alihan, New York City.

Sociometry. Charles P. Loomis, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Chairman. Colonial Room.

General Topic: Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living.

"What Level of Living Indexes Measure," Margaret Jarman Hagood and Louis J. Ducoff, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussant: William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. and M. College.

"Some Regional Variations in Levels and Standards of Living," Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussant: A. R. Mangus, Ohio State College.

"Parity Prices Versus Standards of Living as a Goal for Agricultural Improvement," Oris Wells, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussants: Dorothy Brady, U. S. Department of Labor, and Major Carle C. Zimmerman, Perrin Field, Sherman, Texas.

The Family. M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, Chairman. El Patio.

"Changing Cultural Problems in American Family Life," Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History.

"Needed Legislation Relative to the Family," John S. Bradway, Duke University.

"How Can the Family Best Meet the Repercussion of the War," James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania.

Saturday, December 4, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee. Room C.

Saturday, December 4, 5:00 P.M.

Rural Sociological Society Meeting. W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Presiding. Room D.

Saturday, December 4, 8:00 P.M.

General Session. George A. Lundberg, Bennington College, President. Colonial Room.

"Sociopathy and World Organization," Read Bain, Miami University.

"Sociologists and the Peace," George A. Lundberg, Bennington College.

"Structure and Dynamics of Social Organisms," Ely Culbertson, The World Federation, Inc.

Sunday, December 5, 8:00 A.M.

Breakfast Meeting—University of Chicago Group. Marine Grill.

Sunday, December 5, 9:00-10:00 A.M.

Business Meeting of the Society. Colonial Room.

Sunday, December 5, 10:00-12:00 A.M.

General Session. Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University, Presiding. Colonial Room.

Community Organization for War and Postwar Activities.

In Urban Areas—Mrs. Wladislava Frost, Area Supervisor, District of Columbia Office of Civilian Defense.

In Rural Areas—B. L. Hummel and Director John Hutcheson, Virginia State Extension Service.

Sunday, December 5, 1:00-3:00 P.M.

Population. Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Chairman. Colonial Room.

General Topic: Methodology and Policy.

"A Classification of Metropolitan Counties with Respect to Retention of Wartime Population Increments," Philip M. Hauser, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

"The Outlook for Immigration After the War," E. P. Hutchinson, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice.

"Some Programs Leading to a Positive Population Policy," T. J. Woofert, Jr., Federal Security Agency.

Discussants: Paul H. Landis, Washington State College; Raymond F. Sletto, University of Minnesota; P. K. Whelpton, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

Sociological Measurement. Harry Alpert, Office of War Information, Chairman. Room F.

"Foundations for the Scaling of Attributes," Louis Guttman, Cornell University.

Discussant: Margaret Jarman Hagood, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
 "The Measurement of Morale," Arnold Rose, Special Service Division,
 War Department.

Discussant: Julian L. Woodward, Office of War Information.
 "Statistical Measurements of Trends in Musical Tastes," John H.
 Mueller, University of Indiana.

Discussant: Adolph S. Tomars, College of the City of New York.

Community and Ecology. Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina,
 Chairman. **El Patio.**

"The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case for Ecology," Harlan W.
 Gilmore, Tulane University.

"The Urban Adjustments of Rural Migrants," Howard W. Beers, Uni-
 versity of Kentucky.

"The Pacific Coast Community at War," Calvin F. Schmid, University
 of Washington.

General Discussion.

Sunday, December 5, 3:00-5:00 P.M.

Social Research. Raymond V. Bowers, National Headquarters, Selective
 Service System, Chairman. **Room F.**

General Topic: Statistics in the Government Service.

"Coordination of Government Statistical Programs," Stuart A. Rice,
 U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

"Problems and Progress in Sampling by Government Agencies," W. Ed-
 wards Deming, U. S. Bureau of the Census and U. S. Bureau of the
 Budget.

"The Operation of a Government Statistical Program," Kenneth H. Mc-
 Gill, National Headquarters, Selective Service System.

Papers will be followed by open discussion.

Social Psychology. Edgar A. Schuler, U. S. Department of Agriculture,
 Chairman. **El Patio.**

"Attitudes of Americans Regarding Selected Foreign Countries," Jerome
 Bruner, Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton University.

"National Stereotypes and International Communication," Ruth Bene-
 dict, Columbia University.

"Sociological Elements in Attitudes Favoring Policies of Economic Re-
 strictionism," C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College.

Discussant: Mark A. May, Director, Institute of Human Relations,
 Yale University.

Criminology. Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman. **Co-
 lonial Room.**

"Crime and the Frontier Mores," Mabel Elliott, University of Kansas.

"The Deterrent Effect of Corporal Punishment for Crime," Robert G.
 Caldwell, University of Delaware.

"A Statistical Investigation of the Criminality of Old Age," Otto Pollak,
 University of Pennsylvania.

Sunday, December 5, 4:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee, **Room C.**

CURRENT ITEMS



Research Notes

MORALE AND THE LIFE INSTINCT: A BIOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

PVT. BURRILL FREEDMAN
Army of the United States

A Function of Self-Bettering Adaptability. Morale, almost however defined, can be seen to be a function of the self-preservative adaptability of individuals and groups. When morale is high, the adaptability of persons to the situations and problems which confront them tends to be efficient. The lower the morale, the less does the adaptability of persons tend to be efficient and in their best interests.

This adaptability operates through impulses of self-preservation and self-betterment. The impulses ultimately arise from the biological needs of the individual, and (subject to certain deflections) undergo continual development in the direction of increasing effectuality toward the ultimate satisfaction of these needs. The modification and development of the impulses takes place through a dual process of self-education and receptivity to formal education.

In this detailed sense (and only so) the self-preservative adaptability of the individual, with its tendency to the development of increasingly effectual impulses of self-preservation and self-betterment, may be termed the *life-instinct*.

The content, therefore, of formal education, whether under the heading of propaganda or of inculcation of truths and ideals, if it is to retain on a long-term basis its ability to exert a favorable influence on the life-instinctual operations of people, and thus on their morale, must ultimately serve the *biological needs* of the individual. Otherwise the education will tend, through however lengthy a process of self-education, to be rejected by people as ineffectual in leading to the satisfaction of their biological needs.

It is true that it is also an expression of morale for an individual to renounce the satisfaction of his needs, and life itself, when necessary to further the interests of other persons and principles cherished by him. This fact does not alter the characterization of morale as a

function of the life-instinctual tendency of people to seek the satisfaction of their biological needs. It is simply necessary to include in the concept of self-preservation and self-betterment, the preservation and advancement also of the principles and persons held dear by the individual. By the biological needs of the individual must of course be understood his own *and* the needs of the persons and groups with whom he chooses to identify himself.

These persons and groups tend to include (through certain social-psychological processes) not only his family, friends, co-workers, etc., but progressive humanity as a whole.

Impairment from Psycho-social Repression. The building of durable morale is thus a matter of complementing the self-education of the individual with such formal education as will assist most powerfully in developing co-operative impulses in him, impulses of self-betterment toward the ultimate satisfaction of his biological needs and those of the people whom he holds dear.

The cause of impaired morale is a psychological repression of social impulses of self-betterment, a "psycho-social" repression, which disables parts of the life-instinctual tendency itself.

The origin of such repression is mainly indoctrination by ideas and attitudes of a particular kind, namely such as tend to minimize the importance of the satisfaction precisely of the biological needs, and especially of the vital (as against the sexual) needs.

For example, ideas which—like those of the fascists and other reactionaries—claim a virtue in a low standard of material and cultural well-being, and which place unquestioning servility ahead of the intelligent self-realization of the individual—these ideas enforce a repression of awareness of the infinite productive potentialities of civilized social labor-power, and a repression of impulses to challenge the authority of those who conceal and limit these potentialities to their own exclusive enrichment.

Especially insidious are ideas which imply that it is impossible for individuals or groups

to better themselves except at the expense of others. Such ideas, if they become indoctrinated, result in persons' losing their knowledge of the possibility and the obvious advantages of *co-operative* action for the betterment of all. The ideas cause a simultaneous inhibition of their *co-operative impulses*.

Propaganda Must Serve Biological Needs. By this analysis, the specific tasks of morale-building are revealed as more than those of merely attacking and seeking to replace the propaganda of the enemies of the people with a superior weight of nondescript propaganda of one's own. The tasks are revealed as indicating a program in which at least three parts may be distinguished.

It is necessary, (1) to prove and to stress, in exposures of fascist, reactionary, and traitorous propaganda, its inability to provide for, and its dastardly contempt for the biological needs of the people, with respect to food, clothing, shelter, freedom, health, security, and cultural fulfillment.

(2) In alternative propaganda, it is necessary to stress and to be able to prove the long-term attention of democracy, the rule of the people, to precisely these needs. The decisive advantage which accrues to democratic propaganda to the extent that it is able to do this, is clearly perceived by the fascists themselves. They accordingly concentrate their own propaganda on depreciating the ability of democracy to satisfy the vital needs of the people, e.g., in the words of Hitler on December 11, 1940, "One might suppose that in lands of freedom and democracy, everybody lived in plenty. The contrary is true. Nowhere is the standard of the masses lower."

(3) Particular care must be devoted to the extrication, from individuals and groups, of those elements of the enemy's propaganda which have entered the *unconscious* of its victims, and to the raising of these unconscious elements of indoctrination into the field of awareness and conscious control, where they can be perceived with appropriate horror and anger, and effectively rejected and fought.

The only *ideals* which can be relied upon to build morale on an enduring basis, are revealed by this analysis as not abstract ideals, but materialistic ideals, which carry biological conviction of their subservience to the physical and cultural needs of the individual, the nation, and humanity. Such would be ideals of *industrial* democracy, *economic* progress, *people's* art, and related ideals.

The effects which are to be sought by such propaganda or education include the following. First, the liberation from repression, and bringing within the field of consciousness, of the realistic ideas, perceptions, and associations with which the impulses of betterment must be linked in order to be effectual. Secondly, the liberation from repression of the natural impulses of self-preservation and self-betterment, and their conscious integration with the relevant ideas. For a third thing, a clear perception of the forces and factors, domestic and foreign, which stand in the way of the self-betterment of humanity, and menace the existence of the individual and his fellows. And fourthly, in the same process, the liberation of massive impulses of interdependence, co-operation, and comradeship, which also normally develop in people, and which can only as a result of repression, whether mainly from fixation or regression, become dissociated from the impulses of self-preservation and self-betterment.

Mechanical Versus "Real" Morale-Building. The question remains, in what relation to this biological orientation do the customarily thought-of-provisions of morale-building such as recreational facilities, heterosexual companionship, and the like, stand?

Such provisions are among those which serve the *immediate* satisfaction of the physical and cultural needs of the individual. As such, they conduce to the building of an "immediate" morale.

But to the extent that such satisfactions may necessarily have to be foregone, for indeterminate periods of time, and to the extent that severe frustrations of satisfaction may impend, as a result of inevitable deprivations and necessary sacrifices, it is clear that for a *durable* morale there is required a sustaining *inner* set of incentives to effective struggle, independent of immediate satisfactions and provisions for satisfaction.

Those inner incentives to effective struggle must clearly emanate from a sound political theory, which is capable of demonstrating to the intellect, the perfect feasibility, and the specific conditions of the long-range mass satisfaction of the needs of humanity.

The most important provision of morale-building thus emerges as *political education* in this theory which means education in the theory of uncompromising and continually expanding Democracy, in an unequivocally materialistic sense.

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CONTEMPORARY LEADERS OF
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY*

EDWARD C. McDONAGH

Southern Illinois University

Probably you have observed with considerable interest the names of the twenty-one former Presidents of the American Sociological Society which appear on the standing page of each issue of this *American Sociological Review*. However, it is also probably true that you know very little about these distinguished scholars. The chances are that you have taken work under one or two of them as a student, but for the most part you know them only through their publications. You may have wondered at times what kind of training these men have had. From what colleges and universities do they hail? How many books have they written? How old are they? In short, what is the typical President of the American Sociological Society like? While more questions can be raised than answered adequately, it may be helpful if some of the salient facts about these leaders in sociology are presented. The next time you attend a national meeting of the American Sociological Society you will be able to match the facts with the personalities of men reviewed.

To start with, how old were they when first elected to the presidency of our society? Upon examination you will find that the median age of the twenty-one presidents is fifty-two years, mean age 52.04. The youngest president was elected at the age of 43 and the oldest at 64 years. The assumption that a person doesn't become a leader until fifty seems to be fairly valid for leaders in sociology. What is the sex distribution of the former presidents? All men! However, the women can point to several of their number, standing high in the national or regional societies and in the profession, as possible future candidates who may help democratize slightly the sex distribution.

Twenty of the twenty-one presidents have been married. Four have been married twice. The median age when first married is 27 years, mean age 27.36. The median number of children per man is 1.5, mean 1.9. Sociologists, like most professional groups, marry a little later

than average and have relatively small families. These figures may offer some alarm to the eugenicist who pounces on such data as suggesting that the "cream of the crop" fail to reproduce themselves in sufficient numbers.

As is well known many of these sociologists are characterized by prolific writing. They have written a median of 9 books, mean 11.23. Prior to their election to the presidency of the American Sociological Society they had published a median of 7 books, mean 7.42 books. Unfortunately, the great teacher of sociology, unless he publishes his research and thinking, may never be elected to the presidency. Most of us can point to several contemporary sociologists who are great teachers of the discipline but who have not found the energy, time, nor inclination for active writing programs. In our field the popular dictum, "publish or perish" apparently still holds true. The most prolific writer among the group studied has written a total of 27 books and the least prolific, 2.

It may surprise some readers to learn that the twenty-one former presidents were graduated from twenty-one different colleges. Here is the record: Ross, Coe College; Lichtenberger, Eureka College; Park, University of Michigan; Gillin, Grinnell College; Thomas, University of Tennessee; Gillette, Park College; Ogburn, Mercer University; Odum, Emory College; Bogardus, Northwestern University; Bernard, Peirce City Baptist College; Reuter, University of Missouri; Burgess, Kingfisher College; Chapin, Columbia University; Fairchild, Doane College; Faris, Texas Christian University; Hankins, Baker University; Sutherland, Grand Island College; MacIver, Oxford University; Queen, Pomona College; and Sanderson, Michigan Agriculture College. Such an array of institutions offers a real challenge to the Gestalt psychologist to find a pattern or configuration. The median age of graduation with the bachelor's degree was 21 years, mean 22.1

The master's degree is distributed among eleven institutions of higher learning. Columbia University claims two and the following colleges each one: University of Chicago, Edinburgh University, Ft. Worth College, Harvard University, Hiram College, University of Missouri, University of Mississippi, Northwestern University, and Princeton University. Ten did not take the master's degree. The median age at which the eleven took the degree was 27 years, mean 27.2.

All former presidents possess the Ph.D. de-

*The data for this brief paper were gathered from current biographical materials, especially *Who's Who in America*, 1942-43. In some cases personal correspondence with a few of the former presidents was necessary.

gree, and one of them has two Ph.D.'s. The University of Chicago conferred eleven of the twenty-two Ph.D. degrees, Columbia six, and the following one each: Clark University, Edinburgh University, Heidelberg University, Johns Hopkins University, and Yale University. It may be worth mentioning that only four of the first ten presidents are from the University of Chicago; whereas seven of the last eleven are from the University of Chicago, although Chicago has been conferring sociological doctorates throughout and before the lifetime of our Society. The median age of receiving the Ph.D. was 30, mean 31.6. It is a moot question whether or not the University of Chicago and Columbia University can maintain their leads in producing sociology leaders. Through the sociology leaders graduated from the University of Chicago, eight other departments have been established throughout the country, and Columbia has contributed to the formation of at least five more strong sociology departments, thus increasing the competition for the privilege of educating future Presidents of the American Sociological Society.

It may be something of a surprise to professional social workers to know that at least thirteen of the twenty-one past presidents were social workers, or were associated with social work activities. At least five former presidents have been directors of schools of social work: Bogardus at the University of Southern California, Chapin at the University of Minnesota, Hankins at Smith College, Odum at the University of North Carolina, and Reuter at the State University of Iowa. It appears that regardless of various opinions sociology has made a contribution to social work, certainly in terms of leadership.

How much academic mobility characterizes these leaders? If we think of horizontal mobility as movement from one institution to another within the same professional rank, we find that as full ranking professors the group under study has a median mobility of 1, mean 1.76. As Associate Professors the group had little horizontal mobility. Vertical mobility of these leaders from the rank of Associate to full ranking Professor is interesting. Four gained promotions by accepting positions in other colleges, and eight were promoted to the rank of Professor in their respective institutions. Approximately the same condition prevailed at the Assistant Professor level, since two were raised in rank by accepting positions in other institutions, and seven were raised in rank without such a move.

Apparently in more than half the cases university administrators were able to discern and appreciate the abilities and productivity of the leaders under review.

Editorship is another accomplishment distinguishing the former Presidents of the American Sociological Society, for they edit the following publications: (1) Bogardus is the founder and editor of *Sociology and Social Research*, (2) Burgess has edited the *American Journal of Sociology* (3) Chapin edits Harper and Brothers Social Science Series, (4) Faris has also edited the *American Journal of Sociology*, (5) Hankins was the first Editor of the *American Sociological Review* and is the sociology editor for *Webster's International Dictionary*, (6) Odum edits *Social Forces*, (7) Ogburn has edited the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, (8) Reuter is consulting editor of the McGraw-Hill Book Company Sociology Series, and (9) Sutherland edited *Prisons Today and Tomorrow*. These are but to mention a few of the present and former editorships.

If, in summary, we attempt to stereotype the "typical" former President of the American Sociological Society, we might describe him in the following manner: He probably took his Ph.D. degree from either the University of Chicago or Columbia University, received the degree in his early thirties, has written about nine books, is likely to be the editor of a social science publication, and was elected President of the Society in his early fifties.

FAMILY-MEMBER ROLES IN SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

W. A. ANDERSON

Cornell University

In my paper in the August 1943 *American Sociological Review*,¹ the hypothesis is presented that the social participation of an individual is to a considerable degree a function of the social participation of the family, and that participation as expressed through activities in formal organizations is a family trait. Correlation coefficients between the Chapin Participation Scores of individual family members and the average scores of the rest of the family members ranged from +.68 to +.74. These are high coefficients and seem to justify the hypothesis.

¹W. A. Anderson, The Family and Individual Social Participation, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 420 ff, Aug. 1943.

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In that paper a matrix of Pearsonian correlations between the participation scores of individual family members was given (Table 1, page 421).

If the original hypothesis is correct and the participation of individual family members is, to a considerable degree, a function of the extent to which families participate as a whole, it is then of considerable import to discover to what degree the individual's participation is associated with the family participation trait

Analysis of Human Abilities" is employed. The formula³ is:

$$r_{1g}^2 = \frac{A_1^2 - A_1'}{T - 2A_1}$$

where A_1 is the sum of the rows (or columns) of the matrix of correlations and T is the sum of all the A 's and therefore of all the correlations in the table (where each occurs twice).

Table 1 gives the computations of these first

TABLE 1. THE COMPUTATION OF THE FIRST FACTOR LOADINGS FROM A MATRIX OF PEARSONIAN CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHAPIN PARTICIPATION SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF 1176 FARM FAMILIES

	A^2	A'	$A^2 - A'$	$2A$	$T - 2A$	$\frac{A^2 - A'}{T - 2A}$	Saturation
Husband	3.572	1.217	2.355	5.78	4.02	.585	.765
Wife	4.244	1.428	2.816	4.12	3.68	.765	.874
Sons	3.572	1.201	2.371	3.78	4.02	.590	.768
Daughters	3.842	1.297	5.545	3.92	3.88	.656	.810

and which members of the family exhibit this trait to the greatest extent.

Not only would this be theoretically significant, but it would also be of practical value, for if organization workers can know which family member is likely to possess the most of this trait and so is likely to have the leading role in its promotion in the family, their approach to the family for participation would be more effective.

The family-member roles in social participation can be indicated by the use of factor analysis, for it is the basic hypothesis of this method that the observed association between a set of variables is due to some general factor and other secondary or applied factors.² Statisticians and psychometricians have developed methods by which the "factor loadings" or "saturation," which will account for the intercorrelations, may be computed. The squares of the "factor loadings" or "saturation" are the proportions of the variances associated with the general "factors."

In presenting the "factor loadings" that express the amount of the first factor that accounts for the participation of each individual family member, the method of Spearman in computing his saturations of the "G" Factor as stated by G. H. Thompson in his "Factorial

factor loadings for each family member. In each individual case the "saturation" coefficients are large, again confirming that this common factor which we have called "family participation" is the major element in the social participation of individual family members. The participation of the husbands and of the sons have the lowest "saturation," +.765 and +.768 respectively. The largest residual is .09, which is an indication of a fairly good fit. The proper sampling is still unknown so no test of significance was made.

The wives have the largest saturation factor, +.874, with the daughters intermediate between the wives and the husbands and sons. Thus, it is the wife who seems to exhibit more of this family participation factor activity. This statistical conclusion is in accord with practical experience for it is the testimony of organization workers in various fields that the women show most interest in organizations and take the most responsibility in promoting them with the other family members.

Putting the results of these two analyses together then, it is now suggested that participation in formal organizational activities is a characteristic of the family as a whole and that the best approach in promoting such family participation would probably be through the mother, since mothers exhibit the trait more than the other family members. In other words, if the mothers become participants, then their influence would probably spread to the

² G. H. Thompson, *The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939, p. 153 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 154.

family members and encourage their participation.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL WORKING WOMAN

J. ROY LEEVY

Purdue University

The writer was seriously trying to find out why women were working, and something about their working conditions in industry. The methods employed were personal interviews, and through the use of information schedules. The total number of persons involved in this study were 320 white women employees, 35 men employees, 25 foremen, 13 guards, 6 guards-women, 21 plant superintendents, 3 vice-presidents and 2 presidents of industries. All the foremen and superintendents were interviewed as were all employees.

The fourteen different industries of which employees were studied are: shoe factory, canning factories, steel mills, bus body factory, stoker and stove factories, electrical appliances, coal mining, furniture and package boxes, flour mills, brick and tile factories, shirt factory, lawn mower factory, radio supplies, and drug factory. The number of persons employed in these factories ranged all the way from 25 employees to 6000.

Eighty-five percent of these industries had not employed women before 1939 except as office clerks or secretaries.

According to the employees' replies, when asked why they were working, 72 percent believed it was their patriotic duty, 12 percent wanted to earn some ready cash for their homes, 5.6 percent went to work in industry for the thrill of the thing, 3.4 percent replied that they had relatives working in industry and they wanted to work with them, and 7 percent said that they were influenced to work because of the radio and newspaper comments about the need for war workers.

Eighty-five percent of the women had had no experience in working in any industry before 1939 while 15 percent had worked in some kind of industry, although of the 15 percent that had industrial working experience only 6 percent were now working in the same industry that they had worked in previous to 1939.

The above industries used various methods for training the women for their work. Approximately 95 percent of the women had had no training for the particular job that they were doing at the time of this study. The other 5

percent of women had been enrolled in some trade and industrial defense training courses before receiving employment. In other words for the most part these women received their training while they were employed. Several of the women were given a number of observation periods where they observed men operating machines and doing the kind of work that they were later assigned to do. In the case of the more complex machine operation jobs, these women were permitted to observe for several days before being assigned to duty.

Instructions to women by those men charged with training did not only consist of operating procedures, but considerable time during the training period was devoted to safety education. The women were instructed to wear safety clothes, not dresses with long flowing sleeves, to wear their hair short or to wear some sort of a head cap or net. Comfortable shoes were another item included in the safety program.

The use of safety bulletins, posters, and safety articles in the plant newspaper, according to employers and employees, did much to teach safety to the employees. Twenty-six percent of the plants encouraged their employees to submit safety slogans to the public relations department. Forty-two percent of their employees submitted one or more safety slogans to the public relations department.

SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

1. Women have been willing to become employees of industry regardless of their previous experience and training.
2. Employers in some industries, although a bit reluctant at first, were willing to employ women and to train them for industrial work.
3. Eighty percent of these women will be willing to leave their jobs after the war.
4. Employers were conscious of the need for recreation for women, and 70 percent of the women participated in one or more recreational activities. Ten percent of the foremen said that most women do not know how to participate in recreational pursuits.
5. The public relations department through the plant newspaper has done much to teach women about safety, health, and recreation. There were 74 percent of these industries that had a public relations department and 64 percent of them issued either weekly or monthly some kind of plant newspaper or bulletin.
6. Working mothers with children constituted 8 percent of the women employees. Working mothers who had small children of less than

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school age had their children cared for by some elderly woman known as a "block mother." The block mother cooked the meals for the younger children and taught them various games to play during working hours.

While this study represents a mere sample of the thousands of women employees of industry, it may serve as an inspiration for further study of "The Industrial Working Woman."

EMPLOYERS INFORMATION SCHEDULE

A. General information:

1. Kind of industry
2. Your position is
3. You have held this position for: 6 mos., 1 yr., 2 yrs., 3 yrs. or more
4. The age limit of women employees is
5. Approximate number of married women employees
6. Women were employed in the plant first number
7. Attitude of men employees toward women in the plant: dislike them, opposed it, co-operative
8. Other remarks
9. Approximate number of women who had industrial experience before employment kinds of industries where they had worked

B. Training of women Employees:

1. Approximate number who had no training before employment, number who had training, approximate number attending government training classes
2. Periods of observation before assignment to job; number for 2 to 4 days, number for 5 to 10 days, other remarks
3. Attitude of women toward training: number that were eager, number indifferent or careless Other remarks
4. Give safety instructions to employees: yes no, about clothes; yes no, about shoes: yes no about machines: yes no, about health: yes no
5. Attitude of foreman toward women during the training period: number co-operative number that were patient, number indifferent, other remarks

C. Public Relations:

1. Have public relations department: yes no
2. Have a plant newspaper: yes no
3. Have a plant mimeographed bulletin: yes no
4. Use posters to promote safety: yes no
5. Encourage employees to submit slogans: yes no
6. Approximate number of employees who submit safety slogans:

D. Health and Sanitation:

1. The rest periods allowed for employees are
2. Do the rest periods differ with the different shifts?
3. Had no rest rooms for women located in the plant before 1940-41: yes no
4. Women employees abuse furniture in their rest rooms: yes no
5. Women employees co-operate in the care of their rest rooms: yes no
6. Have had to refurnish women employees' rest room once, twice, more than twice since they were constructed. Other remarks
7. Women loaf in rest rooms: yes no
8. Women were given instructions by dieticians about their eating: yes no
9. Women co-operate with dietician about their eating habits: yes no
10. Have no eating facilities in plant: yes no
11. Established cafeteria services since women were employed: yes no
12. Have no canteen services in plant: yes no
13. Have increased canteen facilities since women have been employed: yes no

E. Absenteeism of women employees:

1. Approximate number absent due to illness , due to week-end trips , really no good excuses , due to accidents other reasons for absenteeism, and approximate number

F. Any other special remarks

EMPLOYEES INFORMATION SCHEDULE

Directions: Fill in all blanks and underscore those words or phrases that seem to answer the questions.

1. Your present employment is
2. Number of adults working is
3. The occupation of each adult: 1. 2. 3. 4.
4. Secured job from: 1. U. S. Employment office, 2. Newspaper article, 3. Employment office of factory, 4. Friend, 5. other way
5. Previous work before securing a job
6. The pre-training given to you by the factory or store is
7. Are you completely satisfied with your job. yes no
8. The time allowed for lunch hours is 15 min., 20 min., one hour, other times
9. The number of rest periods given through the day are
10. The attitude towards foreman during working hours is: he is co-operative indifferent other remarks
11. The working conditions of your place of work are: satisfactory or unsatisfactory.
12. Your children are well cared for while you are at work. yes no
13. The care of your children is by: Kindergarten authorities, nursery schools, some relative, hired help, schools, or left by themselves.
14. Your working has reflected upon your family by: 1. lack of companionship with your children, 2. helping teach the children more responsibility, 3. Decreasing responsibilities of children, 4. other remarks

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MEMBERS IN THE ARMED FORCES

JOHN B. HOLT of the University of Maryland recently left to enter the Navy.

E. G. MCCURTAIN is now Captain, F.A., with the Military Intelligence Division, Prisoner of War Camp, Mexia, Texas, and is the Executive Officer of the camp.

ROBERT J. MILLIKEN has been inducted into the Navy.

GEORGE P. MURDOCK is Lieut. Commander, U. S. Naval Reserve (1), and is doing research work for the Navy.

PAUL WALLIN is a Private in Psychological Res. Unit No. 3, SAAAB, Santa Ana, Calif.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Editor of the REVIEW and the Public Relations Committee (Stanley H. Chapman, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman), are both eager to receive more abundant and interesting news from the members of the Society. Write us not only about offices, organizations, and publications, but concretely about things you are doing; about significant observations and experiences. Tell us about other members who are in the service or too busy at home to give an account of themselves. Do not hesitate to indicate publishable items, since the Editor is sometimes in doubt these days as to what might be a military secret or as to what some local communities expect of Caesar's wife.—Ed.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. A map of the United States showing the population density by minor civil divisions, 1940, has just been issued by the Bureau of the Census. This map is on a scale of 1:2,500,000 or approximately 40 miles to the inch and graphically portrays in shades of brown the population per square mile in 1940 by the county political subdivisions grouped into nine density bands. The names and boundaries of the counties appear upon the map, also the principal city in each State. Although similar maps have been compiled for England and France, this is the first time that a detailed map of this type has been issued for the United States. The map is on sale by the Superintendent of Documents of the Government Printing Office at a cost of 40 cents a copy.

The American Association of Teachers Colleges and the National Safety Council have pooled some of their resources to study what teachers colleges should do to prepare teachers for safety education responsibility. Each of 50 co-operating member colleges was visited during the summer by one of four specialists from the staff of the National Safety Council, and through these discussions and conferences an original questionnaire was revised for use in further investigation. Almost a third of the deaths of school age children are the result of accidents.

Community Service, Inc. is proposing a new service, "The Community Travelers Exchange." We

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find repeatedly that persons in different parts of the country are working on similar community problems without being aware of others who are doing the same. Among members of certain fellowships, such as the Quakers, there is a long established custom of traveling visitors who exchange experiences for mutual encouragement. Members who are about to travel often secure in advance the addresses of local meetings or isolated members, and plan their trips to include visits with them. Such visits often are the high spots of the year for both hosts and guests, and sometimes result in lifelong friendships. Those who have a common interest in community life might similarly profit by visits which would make possible a sharing of outlook and experience. With this possibility in view, "The Community Travelers Exchange" is planned, to increase opportunities of personal acquaintance and sharing of interests by those concerned with community life.

For instance, suppose a person interested in neighborhood organization should be traveling from one of the eastern states to Chicago, and should have occasion to stop overnight at Columbus, Ohio. On the regional map in the "Community Travelers Guide," there will be numbers at various towns along the way indicating the location of members of "The Community Travelers Exchange." Looking up one of these numbers in the body of the "Community Travelers Guide," the traveler may find such a description as the following: "Ohio No. 267. Extown, pop. 8000, on bus line 20 miles from Columbus. Charles and Marian Roe, telephone 2667; specialists in rural recreation; maintain recreation center with handicrafts, folk games, etc.; residence, farmhouse, modern, central heat; can receive four guests; can arrange overflow near by; rooms: one person \$1.00, two persons, \$1.50; meals: breakfast, 50 cents; lunch, 75 cents; dinner, \$1.00; please telephone in advance."

Community Service, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio, welcomes applications for membership in this exchange. An application blank may be had by writing them. The registration fee is \$2. They write: "We need your opinions and ideas in planning this Community Travelers Exchange. Does the idea appeal to you? What criticisms or suggestions do you have? Would you be interested in paying \$2.00 a year for membership in the Community Travelers Exchange?"

The *March of Time* Cinema has released nationally a new film, *Youth in Crisis*. From Producer Richard de Rochemont's letter of announcement:

"We offer, first a presentation of what wartime conditions are doing to American homes and American children; and secondly what responsible parents, communities and social agencies are doing to keep our youth healthfully and patriotically occupied in this trying period of our national life. We stress the viewpoint of psychiatry, that ordinarily, youth becomes delinquent only when its normal needs for affection, recognition of achievements, and whole-

some recreation are not met by the environment; and we show pictorially how these needs of youth may best be met, even in the midst of war and broken homes.

"In preparing *Youth in Crisis*, we have enjoyed the cooperation of such organizations as the F.B.I., the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the National Probation Association, the National Recreation Association and Youth-builders Inc. These organizations have all helped us to create what we believe is a true picture of the problems facing the American home today. Our film is not to be considered as expressing the point of view of any of these agencies, however."

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. A Congress of American-Soviet Friendship was held in New York, November 6-8, 1943, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the beginning of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Among the speakers were Mildred Fairchild on "Soviet Women in Industry"; Henry Pratt Fairchild as discussion leader of the panel on "Education and Youth in Wartime in the U.S. and U.S.S.R."; and E. Franklin Frazier on "A Negro Looks at the Soviet Union." The sessions of the Congress provided a broad coverage of social and sociological interests: Women and Child Care, American-Soviet Cooperation, Education and Youth, Soviet Science and Technology, the Soviet Union as a Family of Nations at War and as a Good Neighbor, Labor Movements, Public Health and Wartime Medicine.

At the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden which was the culmination of the Congress, Secretary Ickes said in unrestrained Ickesian style what he thought about the "powerful and active forces in this country that are deliberately fostering ill will toward Russia," about "those who hate Premier Stalin and President Roosevelt so bitterly that they would rather see Hitler win the war, if the alternative is his defeat by a leadership shared in by the great Russian and the great American." He proceeded to "mention, as an example, the Hearst press and the Patterson-McCormick newspaper axis" with the "morning colonel of Chicago." *New York Times* gave a front page headline: "Ickes sees U. S. Fate Bound to Soviets." The *New York Journal American* ran two inside page headlines: "Notables May Bolt Red Council," and "Hearst and McCormick Press Hit by Ickes for Opposing Reds," while they also ran a front page picture of the hanging of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya. As evidence for the threatened "bolt of notables" the *Journal American* produced nothing but a few statements from prominent persons sponsoring the NCASF that they would inquire further into who supported it, and would withdraw if it were used for political purposes.

The *Pan American Union* has published *Labor Trends and Social Welfare in Latin America—1941 and 1942* (25 cents), *Schools of Social Work in Latin America* (10 cents), *Mexicans in the United States* (10 cents).

Public Affairs Committee, Inc. Science's answers to the widely-held beliefs in racial superiority are summarized succinctly by Professor Ruth Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish of Columbia University, in *The Races of Mankind*, a 32-page illustrated pamphlet issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. This is the eighty-fifth in a series of popular, factual, ten-cent pamphlets published by this committee.

Russell Sage Foundation. Russell H. Kurtz has been appointed Assistant General Director of the Russell Sage Foundation. Mr. Kurtz has been a member of the staff of the Foundation since 1931, first as a research assistant and since 1935 as department director and editor of the *Social Work Year Book*.

The Foundation has completed the publication of its first series of eight "Occasional Papers" dealing with the administration of relief abroad. These papers bring together reports, unpublished or difficult to obtain, of earlier experience in foreign relief, from World War I to World War II, from Spain and Occupied France to China. The Papers are under the general editorship of Donald S. Howard, assistant director of the Foundation's Charity Organization Department.

The fall of Italy and plans for formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, says Dr. Howard, make more urgent a study of the practical experience of the past, so that both governmental and private agencies may speedily and wisely plan for what seems certain to prove the greatest task in relief and rehabilitation the world has ever faced.

Cornell University. Dwight Sanderson is at 1009 S.E. Seventh St., Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Dartmouth College. Francis E. Merrill writes: "After two years in Washington, I am happy to return to academic life." [Will any one say "Amen"—Ed.]

Drake University. Joseph B. Gittler, formerly of the University of Georgia, and the Virginia State Planning Board, has been appointed professor and head of the department of Sociology at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

Friends University. In co-operation with the Civilian Public Service division of Selective Service, Friends University, Wichita, Kansas, has set up a Reconstruction Program. Part of it is a Social Service Reconstruction Program which is also a Sociology Major under the supervision of the Head of Department Dr. Egon E. Bergel. This program also introduces a new course "European social and cultural patterns," given by Dr. Bergel. The outline is given below.

EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PATTERNS

- I. *The "Space":* an outline of evolution and present geographical conditions confined to the viewpoints of anthropogeography and political geography.
- II. *Population:* a description of history and present distributions of the European nations combined with a discussion of the race doctrines.
- III. *Economic resources and economic organization*
- IV. *The historical background:* The Roman Empire, the Middle Ages, Feudalism, the Great Revolutions.
- V. *The Cultural Background:*
 - a) The Early Patriarchal Culture
 - b) The "humanistic" tradition of Antiquity
 - c) Christianity
 - d) The Secularisations and Transformations: Liberalism, Socialism, Nationalism.
- VI. *Social Institutions:* Structural analysis of Family, Occupation and Stratification.
- VII. *Political Institutions and Political Organization:* Classes, parties, political bodies and forms of government, with a discussion of Absolutism, Constitutionalism, Democracy and Totalitarianism.
- VIII. *The Forces of Integration and Differentiation:* Discussion of the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in Europe. The difficulties, projects and chances of a European co-operation and unification.

Kent State University. James T. Laing has been named one of a commission of 15 members in Portage County set up for the purpose of study and control of juvenile delinquency in the county. The commission is headed by Juvenile Judge George McClelland.

John F. Cuber is a contributor to the timely issue of the *Annals* of the Academy of Political and Social Science, "The Family in World War II," published in September. He is working in part in the air corps program at Kent. William S. Shepherd has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Harley O. Preston, on leave with the army air corps, has recently been transferred from Kelly Field, San Antonio, to Miami Beach where he is engaged in setting up a new research unit.

University of Kentucky. Dr. Logan Wilson, formerly an instructor in Sociology at Harvard University, and later head of the Department of Sociology at Tulane University, succeeds Dr. Harry Best who will give more time to his research studies. Dr. Irvin T. Sanders is on leave of absence for the Fall quarter at Washington in connection with post-war agricultural programs.

Macalester College (St. Paul, Minnesota). Dr. Samuel M. Strong, formerly visiting assistant Pro-

essor in the department of Sociology, Tulane University, has accepted the position of Professor and chairman of the department of Sociology at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota.

National Yunnan University, China. Francis L. K. Hsu, author of an article in this number of the *Review*, is lecturer in social anthropology at National Yunnan University. He took his B.A. in Shanghai in 1933 and his Ph.D. in London in 1940, has worked under Professor Malinowski, and has had two articles in the *American Anthropologist* (1940 and 1942) and one in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1942).

"I have typed the article on such poor paper because the prices of better grade paper are prohibitive, apart from the question of its availability here in interior China today . . . my special interest is in the problem of family and am now working on a manuscript (in English) on *The English Wife*, which is sub-titled, 'a Chinese anthropologist attempts to understand the English marital relationship.'"

Norton College. Paul F. Cressey writes from *Stanford University*: "I have a leave of absence from Wheaton, where my work is being taught by Dr. Theodore Sprague of Harvard. I am spending the year at Stanford teaching in their Far Eastern Area and Language School which is training army personnel for special service in the Orient. My title is Visiting Professor of Chinese Studies; I'm teaching modern Chinese civilization from a sociological point of view!"

University of Pennsylvania. W. Rex Crawford (see October number, p. 604) is in Rio de Janeiro with the rank of Minister. Karl Kelsey has deserted his retirement to resume teaching.

Purdue University. J. Roy Leevy (see paper on page 720, this issue), spent the summer studying farm labor activities in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and North Dakota. He conferred with extension directors, army officials, county agricultural agents, farm industrial plant superintendents, superintendents of education, home agents; visited youth work camps, canning factories, packing sheds, war prison camps; and Washington. He interviewed several hundreds of non-farm youth in cities in regard to farm work and was "amazed at the lack of knowledge possessed by non-farm youth relative to the production of food." Mr. Leevy is now a regional supervisor for the War Food Administration in connection with Farm Labor; is stationed at Purdue where he also does some teaching.

University of Rochester. Jerome Himelhoch, Instructor in Sociology, resigned his post to enroll in the Program of Civilian Training in International Administration at Columbia University. Earl Koos, Lecturer in Sociology here, was appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology to fill the vacancy.

Temple University. Negley K. Teeters has been appointed Special Consultant to the W.L.B.'s Bureau of Prison Labor.

Wayne University. Dr. H. Warren Dunham and Dr. Norman Daymond Humphrey, formerly Instructors, have been advanced to Assistant Professorships, effective September 1, 1943.

The Dryden Press, 103 Park Avenue, New York, announces the publication of *Race Riot* by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, and Dr. Norman Daymond Humphrey, Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Sociology. The book details and analyzes the 1943 riots in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Harlem and proposes a program for easing racial tensions. It will be published on or before November 1, 1943. Dr. Lee's research reports for the U. S. Department of Justice in the Associated Press case have been published in a volume of exhibits submitted in the District Court of the U.S. for the Southern District of New York, dated May 25, 1943, Civil Action No. 19-163.

Dr. H. Warren Dunham has collaborated with Dr. Samuel Waldfogel, Department of Psychology, in the preparation of *A Student's Manual of Mental Hygiene* for college Freshmen. It will be used experimentally in Wayne University's Freshman orientation classes.

Donald C. Marsh, Assistant Professor of Sociology, is continuing a study of "Some Aspects of Negro-Jewish Relationships in Detroit, Michigan," which he started a year ago under the auspices of the Detroit Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Detroit Jewish Community Council. Professor Marsh is being assisted by Mrs. Eleanor Paperno Wolf and Alvin Loving, graduate fellows. Part I of the study, entitled "Summary of Surveys," is now completed. This part summarizes surveys of (a) commercial establishments, (b) prices charged, (c) attitudes of Jews toward Negroes, (d) attitudes of white gentiles toward Negroes, (e) attitudes of Negro youth toward Jews, and (f) economic data on the Negro consumer and Negro adult attitudes toward Jews in commercial relationships. The other major parts of the study are to be entitled: II "History of Negro-Jewish Commercial Relationships in Detroit"; III "Analysis of Negro-Jewish Attitudes"; and IV "Conclusions."

As a result of his direction of this study and of a study made in 1926 for the Mayor of Detroit's Interracial Commission, Professor Marsh is serving as consultant on interracial problems to the Mayor's Interracial Committee, the Office of Civilian Defense, the Nationalities Committee of the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, the Union for Democratic Action, and the Committee on Curricular Reorganization of the Detroit Public Schools. Professor Marsh is also aiding the City Planning Commission in the location of major highways through making available to them the results of his long-term survey of ecological trends in the

city of Detroit, especially in changes in the downtown business district.

Herman Jacobs, Executive Secretary, Jewish Community Center, Detroit, has rejoined the Department of Sociology as a Special Instructor, teaching a course in preprofessional social work. Mr. Jacobs is first vice-president, Social Workers Club of Detroit; Chairman, Adult Advisory Committee, of the Metropolitan Detroit Youth Council; member, Mayor's Committee on Youth Problems; member, Co-ordinating Committee for Willow Run Area Recreational Project; and member, Advisory Committee on Interracial and Intercultural School Curriculum.

Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Associate Professor of Sociology, taught during the summer at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dr. Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Group Work and Sociology, wrote an article on "The Zoot Suit, an Interpretation" for the October *Survey Graphic*. Dr. Redl served as a consultant on child guidance last summer to the Government Housing Project at Vanport, Oregon, a Kaiser Shipyard

project.

Under the joint auspices of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies and the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne University, Dr. Redl launched this fall an extensive experiment that is known as the "Detroit Group Work Project." The first aspect of this experiment consists of diagnostic group work along these five lines: (1) intensity check on existing symptoms and traits, (2) specification of existing symptoms and traits, (3) testing methods of control, (4) group sensitivities and social allergies, and (5) character study and personality analysis. The other aspect, clinical group work, consists of efforts of these sorts: (1) to draw out shy children, (2) to organize the aggression of hyperactive children, (3) to socialize the emotional reactions of children with a low skill in "living together," (4) to open up interest and activity areas which have so far been handicapped by emotional blockage, and (5) to offer treatment support. The children who will serve as subjects in this experiment are referred through youth serving agencies, not directly by parents.

OBITUARY NOTICE

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG: 1861-1943

Professor Victor E. Helleberg of the University of Kansas passed away October 8, 1943 after a brief illness. He came to the University in 1910 as Assistant Professor of Sociology, was advanced to the rank of Associate Professor in 1913, and to a full professorship in 1927. He retired from active teaching service in 1937, and devoted his energies to the preparation of a small volume titled *The Social Self*, published in 1941.

Professor Helleberg took his graduate work in sociology at the University of Chicago from 1906 to 1910, where he also served as instructor in sociology from 1908 to 1910. He was an alumnus of Yale University where he took the A.B. degree in 1883, and of the University of

Cincinnati where he took a law degree two years later.

A man of broad interests, strong convictions, and forceful personality, Professor Helleberg had a profound influence on many students who took work with him in his long period of service as a teacher. Not a few of those students have since attained distinction in sociology or related fields, owing in no small measure to his stimulating influence.

In his philosophical views Professor Helleberg was a follower of John Dewey and the late George Mead, and he brought a truly missionary zeal to the task he set himself of working out and propagating the sociological implications of their doctrines. This he did almost entirely through his teaching activities, as he had but little inclination and little developed talent for writing as a medium of expression.

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BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

HOWARD BECKER AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

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Towards an Abiding Peace. By R. M. MACIVER. New York: Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. 195. \$2.50. *A Five Year Peace Plan; A Schedule for Peace Building.* By EDWARD J. BYNG. New York: Coward McCann, Inc., 1943. Pp. vii + 184. \$2.00.

These two books resemble each other in length, in subject matter, and in the conviction with which their respective authors set forth concrete plans for building the postwar world. The general prescription of the two books is also similar. Both want a strong universal organization to preserve the peace and regulate world economy. The books, however, reflect the occupations of the authors.

MacIver, a distinguished sociologist, proceeds from philosophical premises sustained by historical and sociological analyses. Man "must join his faith to his perceptions and trust—not one or the other alone but both together" (p. 1). "Disputes are inherent in human life—they exist wherever life of any kind exists. . . . The reason why it [war] is likely to be discarded is that man is a thinking animal, reckoning consequences, as well as a fighting one" (p. 4). "Without separateness [of communities] war loses its rationale. . . . But separateness belongs to the primitive world" (p. 11). "If you want an abiding peace you must put the welfare of the whole above the immediate advantage of the part" (p. 19). "The prime condition of peace is the establishment of an international order. Without law there is no order, and without community there is no law" (p. 26).

From these principles, MacIver sets forth the policy to be adopted toward the enemy (generosity toward their people), the territorial terms (generosity to Russia in the Baltics), the economic terms (freer trade), the colonial terms (international control until prepared for independence), the political terms (autonomy for groups and fundamental rights for all), and the organizational terms (universal confederation, with an international policing force).

Further chapters discuss the prospects for international order and for democracy hopefully, and the role of the United States. The difficulties arising from the isolationist tradition, from constitutional checks and balances, from party oppositions, and from excesses of "idealism" or of "realism" are duly weighed, with the conclusion: "There is grave danger that we shall fail the world as we did in 1919" (p. 186), but there is ground for hope that "in unity of purpose, backed by economic strength, the United States

would move on to the fulfilment of its historic role" (p. 194).

Byng is a journalist with broad experience in the international field. His book lacks the evidence of a mellow philosophy and balanced judgment which appears on every page of MacIver's contribution. He writes with almost brazen self-confidence, blueprinting the organization and the action for each step during the next five years. A quotation from Marcus Aurelius, to whom the book is dedicated, adorns each chapter head, and the author evidently fancies the combination of philosophy and power of the Antonine Caesar, as perhaps indicated by the title of his previous book, "Of the Meek and the Mighty." There is more the emperor than of the philosopher in this "Schedule for Peace Building," though the author states his principles succinctly in the first chapter. "Cosmopolitanism is democracy on the supranational plane—world democracy, one and indivisible. . . . A constructive patriot and a good cosmopolitan are two terms for the same thing" (p. 5). "We must be idealists but not dreamers" (p. 7). "Like democracy, peace also is one and indivisible" (p. 8). The author frequently refers to "the butcher of Berchtesgaden" and suggests that "the hundreds of thousands of dangerous fanatics, opportunists, megalomaniacs, sadistic perverts, and petty thieves who rallied round the major Nazi criminals, as well as the Fascist element in Italy and the militarist clique in Japan, must be methodically and permanently removed from public life." But after this "decontamination" the victorious democracies must not stoop to "wanton, indiscriminate cruelty and bestiality on the Nazi model" (p. 7).

The author enumerates cities and railroad junctions that must be occupied by air-borne troops immediately upon the "cease fire" and treats in equal detail the processes of occupation and rehabilitation. The United Nations are to set up political, economic, and educational boards with extensive powers. Boundary settlements, colonial settlements, economic conditions, propaganda, and educational programs are elucidated with startling concreteness. The author's discussion of the role of information, symbols, leadership and education in building a world order is one of the most interesting chapters. The five-year schedule leads to a "Union of Nations" with sovereignty in a "Union District" and a constitution modelled on that of the United States. This constitution gives limited supra-national authority to a president, a legis-

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lature, and a court. This "Union of Nations" will have symbols on stamps and coins, a flag, an anthem, decorations of merit, and educational and radio programs recalling its existence to all people. Union citizenship will not, however, be given to all, but only to Union officials and stateless people (p. 166). Policing is to be in the hands of the big Powers but is to be exercised in behalf of the Union (p. 168). In spite of the appearance of a powerful world government in words and symbols, in substance, Byng is more conservative than MacIver. Each of the four great Powers would exercise dominant control in its own area (p. 160). The problem of assuring peace among these Powers is not clearly envisaged.

The two books are provocative rather from their vigor of presentation than from the comprehensiveness and care with which the problems of the peace are analyzed.

QUINCY WRIGHT

University of Chicago

Postwar Economic Problems. Ed. by S. E. HARRIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1943. Pp. xii + 417. \$3.50.

This important work is essentially a manifesto of the deficit-financing school of economists, headed in this country by Alvin Hansen and claiming apostolic succession from Keynes. There are twenty-three contributors of whom about half were recently active in consultative or executive capacities for government services. While there is little exposition of the abstract theoretical background, a good conspectus of the practical program is provided by the editor's introduction and chapter on postwar public debt, Hansen on the postwar economy, Samuelson on full employment, and Alan Sweezy's defense of the secular stagnation theory. The common thesis is of course the Keynesian contention that savings tend to outrun investment, that the economy therefore fails to operate at anywhere near full capacity, and that it is the function of government to provide full employment by transferring income from savers to spenders and replenishing the investment gap by "stimulative deficit spending," "increased investment spending," "public investment," "income-creating expenditure," and so forth. By these means optimistic estimates of future "national income" are arrived at, especially by Harris: "If, in a period of fifty years, we could attain a national income of \$200 billion plus the interest on government securities, then a public debt of \$4000 billion might well be within the realm of possi-

bility." Harris recognizes that even the interest charges may be borrowed.

Aside from the controversy these views have aroused, especially following the publication of Moulton's recent attack, the present volume contains some dissenting analyses. Richard Bissell contributes an excellent study of the probable postwar private investment outlook; H. C. Simons and H. S. Ellis defend theses resting on traditional economic liberalism; Slichter contributes a first-rate study of labor after the war; and to sociologists Schumpeter's essay on capitalism in the postwar world is probably the most important chapter. It may be remarked that the Keynesian position still awaits adequate analysis from both the historical and the sociological points of view.

WILLIAM ORTON

Smith College

England's Road to Social Security. By KARL DE SCHWEINITZ. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Pp. 246. \$3.00.

Mr. de Schweinitz's extensive bibliography (509 items) evidences an extraordinarily rich literature dealing with the poor of Britain, and, by reason of the paucity of American writings on the subject, seems to justify one more volume—this time by an American. It is doubtful that any future volume, British or American, will eclipse the monumental work of Beatrice and Sidney Webb on British poor law history for depth of scholarship, penetrative insight, or breadth of interpretation. However, the justification for an additional volume is strengthened by the vantage point of a six-century perspective, the recent prospective developments in the social security fields in Britain and America, and the author's practical experience as an administrator during a transitional period of American poor law history.

The present volume records British thought and practice from the days of feudalism when Britain was beginning to emerge, through to the days of capitalism when for many recent anxious moments its very life as a nation hung in the balance. There is little call, here, to review those centuries of travail from the time that poverty of the governed became a concern of those who govern to the day when those who governed and those who were governed began to share the concept of a national minimum for all. The Webbs, with unassailable authority, have recorded these developments up to 1929, while de Schweinitz, with ample documentary citation and quotation, has brought the record

down to date. What does seem pertinent is the observation that American experience tallied with British experience—but in so doing lagged behind it anywhere from a generation to a century. Despite the open evidence of the British experience, America seemed blindly and perversely to repeat Britain's errors—later. If instances be required, mention can be made of: (a) assumption of State responsibility, (b) the concept of personal fault or flaw of the poor, (c) centralized administration, (d) work relief, (e) private charity versus public welfare, and, (f) social security, to list but a few. All of this is not without relevance in view of the enunciation of the Four Freedoms, the current social security proposals before the British and American governments, and the necessity for postwar planning for the common good.

To this reviewer Mr. de Schweinitz has performed the very useful service of bringing within the confines of one volume a record and a perspective of six centuries of British experience. The volume is amply documented, with perhaps an over-citation and an over-quotation which may add to authoritativeness but hardly to readability. It is a volume useful not only to the student, but to the administrator, and to those who are now determining our policies for the days to come.

ARTHUR E. FINK

Atlanta, Georgia

The Legacy of Nazism. By FRANK MUNK. New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. xvii + 288. \$2.50. *Economics in Uniform.* By ALBERT T. LAUTERBACH. Princeton University, 1942. Pp. xii + 282. \$3.00.

Munk's book is subtitled *The Economic and Social Consequences of Totalitarianism*, but what he offers us is a survey, mostly descriptive, of the economic aspects of Nazi imperialism in Europe which forms a useful supplement to the work of Poole, Guillebaud, Singer and other specialists. Nothing is gained by pretending to generalize Nazism into some wider category; its circumstances, policies and aims are uniquely German, and cannot be regarded as necessary or probable features of other authoritarian systems—a fact which Munk tacitly recognizes.

The author has surveyed a wide field of contemporary source material, and makes a valuable contribution, particularly in Chapters VII and VIII, to the information available in English on the financial and corporate techniques of Nazi expansion. The structure of the work leaves something to be desired. A fuller state-

ment of the basic strategy of the *Wehrwirtschaft* would have been a useful guide, and might have led Munk to a more adequate treatment of European agriculture. (Incidentally, does Munk really intend, on p. 79, to make the New York stock market crash responsible for the world depression?)

In certain respects the book reflects perhaps too closely the official Czech line: in the contention, for instance, that the economic nationalism of the small states was a less important factor of the collapse than the cartels; in its insistence on the fundamental character of political nationalism; and in its emphatic rejection of all prospect of German collaboration in the reconstruction of Europe. "Not a trace of German control should remain within a few days from the date of liberation." The Göring works, the I. G. Farben and similar combines are to be taken over and directly managed by an interstate authority. "Allied military control after the last armistice proved that control from the outside is insufficient." One wonders whether Munk realizes the degree of internal economic control exercised from 1923 to 1929—and the accompanying difficulties.

Elsewhere, however, the author endeavours to be thoroughly realistic. "The only effective unity in Europe today is common hatred of the Germans. . . . Let us make no mistake: the price of political unity in Europe would be the destruction of French bourgeoisie, of Polish and Hungarian feudal landowners, of Belgian and Dutch financial groups, not to speak of the upper classes of Axis countries without whose extermination the war would be futile. Another word for this process would be revolution"—but presumably the upper classes of allied countries are all right. Munk seems, on the whole, to count on the revolution, for psychological reasons as much as for economic ones. He quotes with approval Hertz's statement that "the vision of a bloodbath dominates in the expectations" of the subjugated peoples, and that serious trouble will ensue if the desire for revenge is not in some way satisfied.

Yet when it comes to reconstruction he counts, as do most European writers, on a limitless supply of American capital: "We assume of course that the United States will be practically the only country in the world with enough loanable funds to spare." Not without reason he doubts whether private international investment will be voluntarily forthcoming in sufficient measure; and he therefore leans heavily on Feis's recent pronouncement (in *Fortune*, July,

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1942) that "international capital movements of the future will be mainly if not entirely governmental operations with public funds." European writers have been singularly reluctant to envisage, or concede, the possibility of changes in American policy, despite the historical evidence; but it is surely a little rash to assume that the methods by which American international relations, especially international economic relations, have been determined in recent years will continue indefinitely without question.

Lauterbach's book also is over-labelled, especially if one considers the publisher's blurb on the wrapper. Its substitute—*Military Economy and Social Structure*—suggests a good idea, and might lead one to expect a systematic study on comparative lines; but the short essays on Britain and America deal solely with the use of economic power as a war-weapon. Russia is not dealt with at all, and the bulk of the book dealing with Germany is entirely devoid of statistical basis or illustration. It does, however, provide for the general reader a coherent account of the guiding principles of the German war economy, supplemented by some interesting background material. In the concluding chapter an effort is made to discuss the problems of the postwar period; but the enumeration is better than the analysis, and the only definite conclusion the author reaches is that the whole business will lean heavily on the United States in every respect. The bibliography, though mostly confined to very recent publications, is extensive; one misses any reference to the works of Duranty and Chamberlain on Russia, to those of Nicolson and Tawney on Britain, and to those of Alexander Werth on France.

WILLIAM ORTON

Smith College

Freedom Forgotten and Remembered. By HELMUT KUHN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. viii + 267. \$2.50.

Mr. Kuhn joined the German army when he was fifteen and was an officer from 1915 to 1919. He became a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Berlin in 1930. He left Germany in 1933 or 1934 and has not been back since. Thus, he lived under the Republic and saw the rise of Nazism. His book attempts to explain why Germany finally accepted Hitler and plunged the world into war.

One who has lived in a country or visited it does not necessarily know more about it than one who never has been there. This is especially true of those who try to explain the origin and

significance of long-term cultural trends. Mr. Kuhn recognizes this: "The obtrusive proximity of events is almost as great an impediment to knowledge as remote antiquity" (page 6). This sentence, I think, and the title, contain the cue to my dissatisfaction with both the diagnosis and the prescription. The author is so close to the events and so burdened with "remote antiquity" that he fails to see the events in their proper perspective. The theory that freedom is lost by being forgotten and can be regained by an act of memory is not convincing to me. He regards totalitarianism as a "perversion of the will"; he sees historic movements as black or white; they are determined largely by ideas which precede action (page 170). I believe the opposite is more nearly true. "Will," "reason," "freedom," and "human conscience" are presented as entities and are tinged with a transcendental absolutism which makes no sense to me. He holds that Dilthey's historicism (determinism) and Kierkegaard's either-or (supreme choice) philosophy, sophistry (which made *Gleichschaltung* possible), the apathy of the church (except for Niemöller's group and a few Catholic bishops), the "coordination" of the "respectable" people, and propaganda (machine-made men), reduced the German people to a total despair which resulted in Nazism.

This seems too simple, or perhaps too esoteric. It attempts to explain cultural phenomena in terms of the ideas of the intelligentsia rather than as a result of the folkways and thoughtways of the masses. I suspect some of the more important factors were such things as unemployment, the old military tradition, anti-Semitism, hatred and jealousy of England, fear of communism by the propertied classes, pure apathy, ignorance, and suggestibility.

The major part of the book is called "The Logic of Passion." In this, freedom is derived from religion; Positivism is blamed for the corruption of the German mind; Nietzsche, the Youth Movement, Hauptmannian literature, and the decay of Christianity left a vacuum which was filled by the *ersatz* religion of Nazism with its grandiose scheme of sensational deeds and millennial promises (salvation); with the Leader as the Savior; with the Jew as the source of all evil (original sin); with the concentration camp and the bludgeon as hellfire and brimstone. He concludes with "The Message of Hope" which emphasizes the instrumental nature of the state (to the Nazi, it is all; to the Communist, it is nothing) and the need for a rehabilitation of theology. The real enemy is the total nega-

tion of freedom (page 255) and the denial of man's direct relation to God or truth—the acceptance of total dependence upon the state.

The book assumes that the real conflict is between the state and the church. Except for a passing reference to economics, all the other major institutions are ignored. I believe the state is instrumental primarily because it regulates and implements the other institutions and they also are instrumental in the sense that they perform their proper functions properly. That element in man which is "beyond the state," indeed which is "beyond" any single institution, is simply man's system of values derived from all his other-than-state (or any single institution) experiences and loyalties. If *any* institution, even the church, becomes dominant, it can become, and in the records of history often actually has become, the destroyer of man's freedom. Freedom is destroyed when any institution attempts to perform functions which are properly performed by one of the other basic human institutions. This is the essence of that sanctity of personality which Kuhn ascribes to some mystical reification which he calls "human conscience."

In our culture, the economic institution has achieved a dominance which was once held by the church. If there is any irrepressible conflict, it is between the economic institution and all the other institutional needs of man, not between the state and the church. Kuhn fails to give proper attention to modern industrial society which is mediated by a science-based technology. He assumes that freedom has been lost and hence can be regained only by a return to a system of absolute hope and absolute fear which is (or was) basic to the Christian ethos. I am convinced that freedom is something that must be created continuously in a world, something that never *was*, that only is by a convention of speech, that is everlastingly *becoming*. Freedom does not come from recollection; it comes only by creative projection. The freedom of the past is the bondage of the present and may be an obstacle to the freedom of the future.

I do not know what Positivism means in Germany, but Kuhn's discussion of it (pages 108-120) is a caricature of what it means to me. If it means the general viewpoint of natural science, I am sure few American scientists will recognize his description as a fair statement of their views. Certainly he draws a peculiar conclusion when he says, "If Positivism is a true philoso-

phy, the totalitarian movements do not exist" (page 117).

The rise of Nazism is not explained satisfactorily by calling it an act of desperate despair. It is rather a case of behavior as old as history—the seizure of power by a ruthless minority. The German people are no better and no worse than people of other countries; the Nazi type of mind is present in all countries. In the United States, it manifests itself in such things as our treatment of minorities, notably Negroes; concentration camps for loyal Americans of Japanese descent; zoot suit riots; the widespread belief that John Lewis (and all other aggressive labor leaders) "should be shot at sunrise"; propaganda for profits (advertising); anti-Semitism, anti-this-and-that-ism. Our history is full of it and our future will not be immune.

In spite of these negative criticisms, the book is stimulating, well-written, and compels one to examine his values and his judgments of what the war means. Most people will agree with the author's views that the Nazis are a bad lot, that the war is terrible, and that we must bend every effort to win the peace as we almost certainly shall win a crushing military victory. However, any thought that Nazism will be destroyed with the defeat of Hitler and Hirohito is pure poppycock. I am sure Mr. Kuhn does not belong to this school of wishful thinkers. This is an age-old war and probably will go on for the duration—of man. I hope no Nazi-minded group will ever arise in this or any other land which is as ruthless and successful as the Japanese and Germans have been up to date, but I have no doubt that little "wars" against ruthless men will continue for many years to come.

The author's thesis that Nazism is an act of forgetting and that we can regain freedom by remembering the ancient verities is not convincing to me. It would be closer to the facts to say that man must *learn*, not "remember." He must go forward and create his own future—he cannot go back to his dead and impossible past. Freedom must be found in the world of today and tomorrow, a world of science and ever more intricate machines; it cannot be found by conning over the reified dream-words of patristic philosophers and trying to return to a world of imagined gods and devils. To make such an attempt is the final renunciation of the basis of all freedom—"the free exercise of the mind with confidence that choices really count."

READ BAIN

Miami University

Blood on the Rising Sun. By DOUGLAS G. HARRING. Philadelphia: Macrae-Smith Company, 1943. Pp. x + 239. \$2.50.

"*Bushido.*" By ALEXANDRE PERNIKOFF. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1943. Pp. ix + 284. \$2.75.

Japan: The Warnings and Prophecies of Lafcadio Hearn. By WILLIAM W. CLARY. Claremont, California: Society for Oriental Studies, 1943. Pp. 18. \$3.00.

The personification of enemy Japan continues unabated and apparently without any encouragement other than the fact that the market for popular books on the unpopular Japanese people has not yet become saturated. Future analysts of wartime propaganda may find that we are the dupes of an organized conspiracy to blacken the name of Japan, but from the present vantage point it would seem that we are simply the victims of our own enthusiasm for stereotyped portraits of the evil Japanese. *Blood on the Rising Sun* and "*Bushido*" are each in its own way interesting additions to the literature on the infamy of the Japanese people. Neither should be overlooked when the time comes for making objective studies of America at war.

Blood on the Rising Sun does not live up to its arresting title. Haring suffers from the disadvantage that all serious students of society encounter when they turn propagandist—a too great respect for facts and too many facts. As a consequence his interpretation of the rise of modern and militant Japan lacks the flow and simplicity of a good propagandistic myth. At the same time it falls considerably short of being an accurate analysis of recent Japanese social history. His central thesis, that Japan is a military despotism founded on selected elements of the old feudal order and ruled by a small elite, is probably sound. His estimates of the military strength and weaknesses of the system at times indicate his sociological understanding of social phenomena and reveal a considerable insight. But many of his specific statements are open to question; e.g., he revives the legend that Japan was isolated from the outer world for two and one-half centuries after the expulsion of the Portuguese missionaries.

Haring tries to make the Japanese people a comprehensible and humanly understandable enemy, but the facts interfere; and the picture that emerges is blurred in outline and confused in detail. Pernikoff, on the other hand, sets out in "*Bushido*" to make the Japanese incom-

prehensible and inhuman and, unencumbered by a high regard for facts, succeeds in fitting them into the standard dramatic stereotype of the beast in human form. His medium is the autobiographical story of a young Russian who lived in Harbin at the time of the Japanese occupation and who was ultimately inducted into the Japanese inner circle. Action centers around the methods by which the Japanese train their candidates for the inner circle, a brutal dehumanizing procedure that leaves the survivors with a split personality, the major part of which is utterly and mechanically loyal to Japanese leadership. All this is intended to prove that no Japanese of importance can ever be trusted to behave in terms of those sentiments and values which we consider the essence of being human. The book is written in the best horror-story style, and as such it has few if any superiors. As propaganda it seems to be too convincing a story to be effective. The reader is likely to classify the book as a shocker, and enjoy it as such, rather than as a factual account that would lead to the stereotyping of the Japanese as subhuman beasts.

The essay on the many books on Japan by Lafcadio Hearn is neither by intent nor in achievement propagandistic. Clary demonstrates by extracts from the writings of Hearn that what the publicists are saying badly about the Japanese today was said much better nearly fifty years ago. He thinks that Hearn's interpretations and warnings were ignored because Hearn was a man of letters rather than of science, a view that presupposes that society listens to its social scientists. A much sounder explanation is that a society hears only that which it at the moment chooses to hear, as witness the present disposition to listen only to pleasant prophecies of the coming postwar world. Until the Japanese drove us into war with them, we wished to hear and listened to only nice things about them. Now, of course, we want just the opposite. Hearn is another example of a man ahead of his times and hence ignored by them.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Psychology for the Fighting Man. Ed. by E. G. BORING and M. VAN DE WATER, Washington, D.C.: The Infantry Journal, 1943. Pp. 456. Twenty-five cents.

This little book, with its 4½ by 6½ inch pages, is surprisingly good when one considers that there were 59 author-collaborators. E. G.

Boring and M. Van de Water, under the auspices of the National Research Council and Science Service respectively, did a splendid rewrite job of the original manuscripts with the result that the chapter styles are both readable and similar. If the reader's stomach is not too upset by an initial "Note to the Reader" which states that "This book tells all about military psychology," he will have some pleasant and quite instructive hours of reading.

After a rather mediocre chapter on psychology and combat there follow several chapters on the sense fields: three on vision, and one each on sound, smell, and balance and direction. These chapters are accurate, up to the minute, and clearly written—probably the best portions of the book. Several chapters on selection, learning, and efficiency come next, and then essays on adjustment to heat, cold, oxygen, and stimulants, to food and sex, and to war situations. These are all in line with current theories except that the term *instinct* is unnecessarily featured.

The chapters on morale, leadership, mobs and panic, differences among races and peoples, rumor, and psychological warfare are all modern and interesting, but at times perhaps a little oversimplified. For example, the major difference between the panicked group and the mob is said to be the "fact" that the former is motivated by fear and the latter by anger. (Would that all social analyses could be handled so easily!) One misses the by-now well-known tripartite classification of morale put forth so ably by G. W. Allport. Although he is listed as one of the collaborators, his efforts were apparently expended on other chapters.

With a paper edition retailing at only twenty-five cents this little volume can and should be placed in the hands of all members of our fighting forces. Our soldiers will not only gain from this book in a practical way, but may well be agreeably surprised at the many contributions psychology, broadly defined, is currently making.

PAUL S. FARNSWORTH

Stanford University

A Social Psychology of War and Peace. By MARK A. MAY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. 281. \$2.75.

In this rather longish essay the director of the Institute of Human Relations undertakes to examine the psychological bases of war and, somewhat incidentally, of peace in terms of social conditioning and the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Neither warlike nor peaceful

behavior stems, he argues, directly from the biological characteristics of man. The individual attributes—hate, fear, love, attitudes, opinions, values, etc.—which make possible a group living in peace or going to war against another group are all social in origin. Aggressive warfare is the result of the mobilization and direction of the hates and fears of a people who have experienced acute and prolonged frustration. Defensive warfare is founded on love for the members of one's group who are threatened by the aggressive action of another group. In the mobilization of a people for either type of warfare the various habits of obedience to leadership are invoked, and socially derived opinions and attitudes are played upon. Since the individual bases for warfare are all socially acquired, it would follow that warlike peoples—e.g., Germans, Japanese, and Italians—can ultimately be re-educated; and thus the psychological roots of aggressive warfare can be done away with.

A Social Psychology of War and Peace expresses, awkwardly perhaps, and none too accurately, our present understanding of the conditions that make possible such wars as that in which we are at present engaged. The sociologist will find it interesting, not so much for what it says, but for what it reflects. During World War I the consensus of scientific opinion was that war is the direct and unrestrainable expression of man's instinct of pugnacity, an unfortunate heritage from the time when he lived without benefit of society. Between that war and this we did not learn how to prevent wars, but we did go a long way toward learning why men engage in wars; and today not even the brashest of our journalists are trying to find the causes of this war in the innate nature of the Germans and the Japanese.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

A Handbook of Psychiatry. By P. M. LICHTENSTEIN and S. M. SMALL. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1943. Pp. 330. \$3.50.

A handbook which is published in any scientific field seems to suffer from two disadvantages. On the one hand, it must perforce be too brief on any particular subject to be of practical value, and on the other hand, it must compress the material into a too limited space to provide a satisfactory glimpse of the entire field of subject matter. This book doesn't seem to be any exception to these two shortcomings, even in view of the fact that it does contain

some material on psychometric tests and intellectual deficiency which the psychiatrist may find helpful, and also in view of the fact that it seems to be very progressive in tone and views the development of the personality, both normal and abnormal, within the framework of a dynamic psychology. One certainly has the feeling, as far as the psychiatrist is concerned, that any well-trained psychiatrist would never find it necessary to consult this book, for it deals with material which the psychiatrist would get in his early training, and other specific information which a psychiatrist might desire is not to be found within the book. For the beginning student of psychiatry some of the current textbooks are still his best bet. For a worker in an allied field such as nursing, psychiatric social work, or mental hygiene, such a book might prove helpful in acquainting him with psychiatric procedures and the type of personality and emotional problems which the psychiatrist is likely to confront in his office or clinic.

In addition to the psychological material, the book contains chapters dealing with the normal personality, abnormal behavior, and the major types of functional and organic psychoses. Each one of these disorders is treated from the standpoint of etiology, symptoms, and types of treatment which have been found to be of value in current practice. Sprinkled liberally through the book are brief case accounts, each dealing with a particular psychiatric problem which the psychiatrist is likely to face.

The book, *Handbook of Elementary Psychology and Psychiatry*, by E. Billings, already covers this general area. Kirby's *Guides for History Taking and Clinical Examination of Psychiatric Cases* is still up-to-date and very useful. With such works as these in the field, one wonders why the authors are bent on turning out another, when there are so many crucial research problems to be attacked.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

The Psychology of Character. By RUDOLPH ALLERS. Transl. by E. B. Strauss. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1943. Pp. xv + 383. \$3.00.

A recent novel by Phyllis Bottome, *Survival*, presents the Adlerian and the Catholic outlooks upon life as in irreconcilable opposition to one another. Dr. Allers, on the other hand, holds that Adler's psychology is essentially compatible with, and helpful to, the Catholic position. His argument (which I find much less clear in the first half of his volume than in the

second half) is constructed roughly along the following lines:

An exclusively naturalistic system of characterology is inherently impossible. Vital understanding is the principal avenue to knowing people; only after it is exhausted should we begin to call on the descriptive and analytical methods of natural science. In other words, knowledge is not a substitute for sympathetic understanding, but imperfect understanding can add to its stature by scientific knowledge.

The primal "will to power" if left to itself would overstep all bounds. To some extent the environment exerts a necessary check; so too does the counter-impulse that all men have in their "will to community." The conflict between the will to power and the will to community defines the moral struggle. Character thus emerges as a relationship between the ego and the non-ego.

Fundamentally, each person knows that his will to power is doomed to failure. Even the young child vaguely senses this fact when he becomes aware of his smallness and weakness. But the urge is powerful, and the unrealizable goal of limitless self-expression attracts us. Efforts at compensation are only partially successful. Often the struggle is accentuated by unwise parents who either attempt to crush the child's urge for power, or else indulge it and thus spoil the child. These pitfalls are bad enough, but more serious is the child's failure (or the adult's failure, for that matter) to accept himself for what he is. A good motto for child or adult would be, "I am only someone, but I *am* someone. I can't do everything, but I can do something. That I can't do everything is no reason for my not doing what I can."

Accepting oneself is one requirement for healthy growth. Still more important is the development of a capacity for merging the will to power with the will to community. The individual learns that what is vital is that such-and-such a thing "gets done," and not that he himself does it. The goal becomes objectified, and the ego finds itself healthier for becoming a mere incident in the total process of realizing its values. Thus one saves one's soul by losing it.

It is pride that dissolves the conditions of communal life, as shown by the ruinous effects of self-centeredness and sensitiveness in the marriage relation. It is also pride that is the root of both sin and disease. Neurosis arises from mistaken ambition, from the tension that exists between the will to power and the possi-

bility of power. Neuroses are marked by the three attributes of fear, rebellion, and artificiality (ritualism, compulsiveness). So naturally does neurosis develop from the tangle of ordinary living that the only person who can be entirely free from it is the man whose life is spent in objective devotion to his obligations, who can accept his position as a creature and his place in the order of creation. In the last analysis, "beyond the neurotic there stands only the saint."

Due to the effects of the depression and of the war the demand that values be admitted to social science is becoming ever stronger. Here is a volume that meets this demand in no uncertain manner. The reader should know, however, that the book is not a new one. Published first in Austria under the title of *Das Werden der sittlichen Person*, it was translated and published in Britain in 1931. The present American issue is merely a photographed reprint of the English edition. Yet its greater accessibility is something to be grateful for. So too is the safe arrival of its author in this country to teach at the Catholic University in Washington.

GORDON W. ALLPORT

Harvard University

An Introduction to Group Therapy. By S. R. SLAVSON. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1943. Pp. xiii + 352. \$2.50.

This is a detailed account of a seven-year experiment in group therapy involving, at one time or another, over seven hundred children. While there is a growth in sure-footedness and an ability, toward the close, to give rather definite specifications as to size of group, children to be included, and the kinds of problems that can be treated with a chance of success, the author is at considerable pains to give a full account of the steps through which these conclusions were reached. It is rarely that one feels so honestly that he has gone behind the scenes. Early mistakes, just how a method succeeded, why each plan and decision was made, what was said, and what this led to—these all appear.

Two chapters set out the experiment. Only those children referred by the Jewish Board of Guardians—a child guidance service—as particularly needing group therapy were accepted. While the author freely admits many failures in attaining desired changes, the fact that only 13 of all the 750 children had to be excluded after trial means to the reviewer either that an over-cautious referral or that group therapy is not

as deep and dynamic an affair as the volume suggests.

Then there are seven sparkling chapters of actual experience—verbatim records, carefully described incidents. In some instances we follow a child through his development (several years); in others, we go with a group through its growth. There is a particularly worthwhile chapter on the choice, training, and activity of the leaders of these groups. These "group-therapists" have a neutral role—allowing the group to work through its own problems, accepting each child for what he is and does, rather than for what we adults think he should be. Thus many of the youngsters (in the early years averaging seventeen years of age but as the program develops, twelve) for the first time experience a real and deep security in the presence of an adult, free now to work out their salvation with their peers.

So short a review cannot touch the interesting questions of the value of group therapy, where it can supplant, where it can support, case-work approaches. These and other similarly practical problems are candidly dealt with and the annotations are those of actual cases. Indeed the volume might be described as a clearly written case-history of an experiment of the greatest significance to any one who deals with the development of the personality.

JAMES S. PLANT, M.D.

Essex County Juvenile Clinic
Newark, New Jersey

Cultural and Racial Variations in Patterns of Intellect. By SOLOMON MACHOVER. New York: Teachers College Contributions to Education Number 875. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. Pp. 91. \$1.60.

Unlike most earlier studies of racial achievement on intelligence tests, this monograph is concerned with analyses of score patterns on the subtests of a single intelligence test rather than with comparisons of composite gross scores. Utilizing the Bellevue Intelligence Scale for Adults, this study compares the score patterns of southern Negro criminals who had migrated to New York City with those of Negro criminals who had been educated in this city's schools, the two groups being matched on age and on composite raw score on the Comprehension and Similarities subtests of the Bellevue Scale. Differences between these culturally divergent Negro groups were found to be greater in performance patterns on the ten subtests of the

Scale than were the differences between (a) White criminal and Negro criminal groups in New York City, (b) White criminal and non-criminal groups of like social status in the same city. This new evidence regarding the relative weights of race and culture upon intelligence test performance reinforces the position of those who have maintained that comparisons between racial groups are invalidated by cultural differences.

Another interesting finding is that southern Negroes compare more favorably with northern Negroes on verbal subtests of the Bellevue Scale than they do on some of the non-verbal tests, a finding of particular significance since it bears upon the assumption that non-language tests are relatively free from the limiting effects of culture. Differences between northern and southern Negroes, for example, were found to be much smaller on the Arithmetic and Information subtests than on the Picture Arrangement and Block Design subtests, on which the northern Negroes scored much higher. That some non-verbal tests are far less culture-bound than others is indicated by the close similarity of scores made by the two groups on the Object Assembly subtest of the scale.

Machover points out that the test pattern found to be associated with marked cultural restriction is similar to patterns which in clinical practice have been found to be indicative of mental pathologies, and cautions against use of subtest profiles in clinical diagnoses without first inquiring into the cultural antecedents of the subject. This monograph is, indeed, a contribution to more intelligent use of intelligence scales.

RAYMOND F. SLETTO

University of Minnesota

The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery. By RUTH KETRING NEURMBERGER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 147. \$1.00.

The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER MABRY. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. vii + 87. \$1.00.

The first of these books deals with a neglected phase of the movement for the abolition of slavery prior to the Civil War. Though not strictly Quaker in its beginning, "free produce" soon became a movement among that section of American Quakers who sought to undermine slavery by the boycott of goods produced by slave labor. Women motivated chiefly by hu-

manitarian considerations played a conspicuous role at first but as the movement developed it required the direction of men with business experience. In view of the difficulties in finding cotton goods, sugar, and other necessary staples produced by free labor, not to mention problems of distribution and the maintenance of competitive prices, the movement enlisted considerable support. Nevertheless, the movement failed in its chief purpose; namely, to undermine the economic basis of slavery. In order to present a systematic account of this movement, the author had to do a considerable amount of research in scattered sources. The value of her study, which should be read by all students of social movements, is enhanced by an appendix containing chronological lists of free produce societies and free stores, and a comprehensive classified bibliography.

The chief value of the second book, which treats the subject of the Negro in North Carolina politics, is that it represents a growing interest on the part of southern universities in scientific studies of the problem of incorporating the Negro into the southern community. The author treats his subject under five headings: the free Negro voters and Radical Reconstruction; the rule of the "Bourbons" which ended in 1894; the Populist-Republican fusion which was overthrown in 1898; the disfranchisement of the Negro in 1899-1900; and the aftermath of Negro disfranchisement with some account of the present participation of the Negro in the Democratic primary. Although the author accepts the traditional belief that the emancipated Negro was not prepared to exercise the right of franchise, he shows that there was never a danger of Negro domination. Moreover, he attempts to deal objectively with the rôle of the Negro in politics. For those unacquainted with the methods of southern politicians in regard to the racial situation the section on the Populist-Republican fusion will be especially revealing, though the author does not go into the deeper economic issues. While the author does not make the point explicit, the Wilmington Riot in 1898 was a counter-revolution in which the whites used violence to overthrow legally constituted authority and render the propertyless black voters impotent. All of this was justified as necessary for the reformation of the political situation and the preservation of white civilization. It might be pointed out that many of the Negro leaders who fled from North Carolina at the time have proved their worth in communities further north where the democratic proc-

ess functions more freely. However, in spite of the elimination of Negro leadership and the disfranchisement of the black masses, the racial problem has not been solved. For as the author concludes: "One primary reason for the disfranchisement of the Negro at the turn of the century was the fact that he supported the 'wrong' party. . . . Now he supports the 'right' party. Will this fact insure his continued use of the ballot?" E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

The Italianization of African Natives: Government Native Education in the Italian Colonies, 1890-1937. By ROLAND R. DE MARCO. New York: Teachers College Contributions to Education Number 880. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. \$2.35.

This book presents an analysis of the educational aims of Italy in its colonies while it had colonies. The author is principally concerned in giving his reader an idea of the mechanics of this program, its aims, and its objectives as presented by Italians themselves. His competence would seem to be entirely adequate, and his sources are impressively numerous. He controls the Italian language perfectly, and has been diligent to include all the relevant documents and unofficial discussions of the subject.

After an introduction which presents a brief but useful historical resume of Italy's expansion in North and East Africa, the discussion moves at once to an "overview" of the forms and official purposes of native education—types of schools, recruitment of teachers, budgeting, curricula. There is next a consideration of the purposes of Italian colonial educational structure—the pre-Fascist policy of "Italianization," the Fascist aim of putting its stamp on those it trained, giving them "economic competence"—though "Italy did not plan to overeducate the natives, for fear of creating misfits" (p. 21)—and, above all, furnishing to the new Roman Empire its native troops.

The central chapter of the book, and the longest, is entitled "Government Native Schools in Operation," and is wholly devoted to technical matters of setting up and running the school systems that existed in Libya and Ethiopia (here termed Italian East Africa). Under discussion are buildings and equipment in the two areas, who went to the schools, curricula, methods and materials employed. Far more interesting is the section on personnel, especially as concerns the recruiting, functioning and

status of the teacher—"Italy's sentinel"—under Fascism.

The final chapter, which embodies the conclusions, while asserting that "it is difficult to state with certainty the extent to which the objectives of the Italian program of formal education were realized" devotes some space to the ways in which Italy tried to "civilize"—the word is the author's—the natives, while not "over-educating" them. "The inference," we are told, "must not be drawn that the Italian policy was unqualifiedly liberal," since the natives would have wanted "much greater concessions" if they had been articulate. The final sentences read as follows:

The peacemakers who assemble after this Second World War will have to face the problem of native education. Presumably they will profit from the past experience of the various colonial powers and choose a plan which will include the best educational practices and which will allow for ethnographic and cultural differences among indigenous peoples. Whatever post-war plan for improving pre-war colonialism is adopted, the assembled peacemakers could do worse than use as a starting point the pre-Fascist program of education which was put into effect in Libya in 1922.

In short, this book represents a pedestrian effort which does not ask, much less answer, the real questions posed by the study of colonial education—what does it do to the human beings who are subjected to it? Fundamentally, though it is never explicitly stated, the author would seem to be convinced that native peoples ought to be "civilized," to use a term much employed by him, because we know better than they what is good for them. Certainly that was the ruling philosophy behind colonial educational policies "put into effect . . . in 1922." May one point out that much water has run under all kinds of bridges since that time?

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Northwestern University

Italian or American? By IRVIN L. CHILD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. x + 208. \$2.75.

Students of human behavior have repeatedly utilized the term "culture conflict" to explain specific behavior characteristics of the sons and daughters of Europeans who have migrated to the United States. Culture conflict situations have offered intriguing possibilities to scholars confronted with the necessity of explaining why persons who live in two cultures deviate in behavior, and a number of these scholars have called the deviations in behavior observed the

result of culture conflict. Such a procedure appeals to "common sense" but takes little account of the fact that the processes involved in producing the effects of culture conflict on personality development remain undiscovered and unanalyzed. Child's book is a successful attempt to ferret out and to examine the relations between culture conflict and specific personality characteristics.

The investigation was undertaken with the following purposes in mind: (1) to study the phenomena of acculturation on the individual level of attitudes and behavior by the utilization of psychological analysis; (2) to trace the development of certain attitudes and to relate them to the prevailing social situation in which they develop; (3) to study the effects of belonging to specific groups upon the individual's needs and habits; (4) to utilize various psychological generalizations regarding motivation and learning in the analysis of human behavior.

The subjects of the study were second-generation male Italians living in New Haven, Connecticut. The data for the study were gathered by what Child calls the "... method of engaging in social interaction with second-generation Italians and then recording relevant facts about the way they acted and the things they said" (p. 6). Social interaction with the subjects of the study was facilitated by the fact that Child lived for the ten months of the research period with an Italian family and participated, as an observer, in the various social and recreational activities of the young men studied. This procedure was supplemented by the life-history method and by a standardized interview technique. A total of fifty-three subjects were interviewed and the book deals with the data obtained from them. These data lead Child to conclude that the culture conflict situation into which male second-generation Italians are placed tends to solicit from them three distinct reactions: the rebel reaction; the in-group reaction; and the apathetic reaction.

The reader will find in Child's book an interesting and useful social-psychological analysis of the effects of culture conflict on personality development.

E. D. MONACHESE

University of Minnesota

Jewish Post-War Problems. A Study Course. Prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee. New York: 1943. 6 Units (Pamphlets). 50¢.

This comprehensive and authoritative course of study is projected in eight study units, the first six of which have already been issued. Each unit includes a succinct survey of a special problem, a little anthology of selected source material, and a useful bibliography. (For the teacher there is also available a set of instructions and questions.)

Unit I (32 pp.) answers the question: Why Study Post-War Problems? with special attention to the Jewish aspects, analyzes the research program of existing agencies, both general and Jewish, devoted to post-war conditions, and indicates the specifically Jewish peace needs. Unit II (40 pp.) compares the two World Wars with particular reference to the general status of Jews and the function of antisemitism, as well as the immediate post-war problems then and now. This unit is accompanied by a supplementary pamphlet, containing the reprint of an article by A. G. Duker, editor of the series, on the Jews in World War I. Unit III (48 pp.) is devoted to a review of how the Jewish communities in Europe and America prepared for peace during the first World War, an analysis of their relief work and Zionist activities, and finally their representations at the Paris Peace Conference. Unit IV (40 pp.) summarizes the economic, social, and political trends in Europe between the two World Wars (1919-39) with particular reference to the status of the Jews. Unit V (64 pp.) addresses itself to the position of the Jews in the post-war world, especially to proposals for a new world order and their implications for the status of Jews. There is also an analysis of diverse approaches to the problem of Jewish group rights, and of suggested methods of protecting the rights of Jews (and other minorities), including the outlawing of antisemitism. Unit VI (72 pp.) studies the rôle of Palestine in the new world and contains, among other things, a review of Jewish achievements in Palestine in the last two decades, an analysis of the Zionist problem in all its aspects, and a discussion of proposed solutions for Palestine.

This study series, which embodies some of the research on Jews and the post-war world already published in their Pamphlet series (reviewed in an earlier issue), can be unreservedly commended as very useful and reliable summaries of the problems treated; and the student will be particularly grateful for the Selected Readings and References for Further Study which accompany each brochure.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

Hunter College

Man and Resources in the Middle Rio Grande Valley. By ALLAN G. HARPER, ANDREW R. CORDOVA, and KALERVO OBERG. Albuquerque, N.M.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1943. Pp. viii + 156. \$2.25.

This book is a summary of the data on the land and people within the region drained by the Rio Grande from southern Colorado to the Elephant Butte dam in southern New Mexico. It is an area in which "the inhabitants are in a state of critical unbalance with their environment," and in which there are three distinct cultural traditions: Anglo-American, American Indian, and Spanish American. Here, during the last ten years, some of the best applied social science has been carried on under the New Deal.

As the authors point out, even today the essential conflict in the Middle Rio Grande Valley is one between two economies: a *commercial*, which is largely Anglo-controlled; and a *subsistence*, which is both Spanish and Indian. Back of this struggle, however, there is really a clash of at least two different ways of life—a clash of cultures. The present book confines itself almost exclusively to the economic expression of this conflict, with little insight into its wider significance.

Granting the fact that the resources of the region are not adequate for all, the Federal administrator in the region has this decision to face: Are we going to favor the original inhabitants of the Valley; or, are we going to favor the "Anglo" commercial interests which have come in during the last hundred years? To make such a decision there are many factors that have to be taken into consideration. First of all, the subsistence-type economy will support more of the Valley's population, and thereby lower the relief load. Partly for this reason the strongest ally of the native peoples has been the Federal Government. In fact, the directives to the Middle Rio Grande Interdepartmental Committee from the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior state that the subsistence population are to be given first preference among potential users. On the other hand, the native peoples are politically weak, in spite of their potential strength in terms of numbers. The commercial interests can and do exert strong political pressure. Whereas the authors seem to feel that Federal administrators are fairly free from such pressure, the reviewer does not believe this to be entirely the case. Even the authors have to admit that the issue of reducing on Federal lands the stock permits of large commercial stockmen is an "explosive" one. As in the rest of the United

States, one is up against the political power of strongly entrenched economic interests. Some decision will have to be reached in the Middle Rio Grande Valley as to which way of life is to be given preference.

One of the major problems that has been neglected in the Middle Valley is that of the surplus rural labor. The present book discusses the problem, and points out that whatever the decision reached in regard to commercial versus subsistence economy, there is not enough land resource to support all the population in the area. However, in discussing the possible solutions of this problem, the authors never once consider the solutions of the same problem that have been tried in other areas in the United States which have suffered from the same rural labor surplus. The Southeast, for example, has been struggling with this problem for over fifty years and has actually attempted some of the solutions offered in the present book for the Southwest, as, for instance, the introduction of industry. Although the setting of the problems in the two regions is different, much could be learned for the Southwest from the experiences the Southeast had had with similar problems. Then, too, in spite of a strong local flavor in each region, these problems are also national in scope. For instance, one cannot recommend plant expansion for industry in the Southwest without consideration of the fact that our plants are already greatly expanded owing to the war, and there is bound to be some contraction later. Hence, when the situation in the Middle Valley is viewed as part of the national economy, a different complexion is put on the matter of possible solutions.

There are several points in the book that should be discussed: The program of stock reduction for Indians has been far more drastic than with other groups. But the main reason, not brought out by the book, is that the Federal Government has practically autocratic control over the person and property of the Indians. Even on those jurisdictions that accepted the Indian Reorganization Act, such control can still be indirectly exercised. Then, again, do the District Supervisory Boards under the Taylor Grazing Act really represent "democracy on the range," or are boards in the important districts largely controlled by the big commercial interests?

A more serious criticism is that the authors fall into an evaluation taken from the viewpoint of our culture when they say, "the Anglo-Americans, *better* educated and *better* equipped,

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were able to monopolize the business, professional, and political life of the cities" (italics the reviewer's). After the conquest, the Anglo-Americans set up their own rules of the game, taken from their own culture. The Spanish were *differently* educated and equipped to meet the rules of the game as they played it. The authors, by quoting from Sanchez: "The school program is based on the fallacious assumption that the children come from English-speaking homes—homes that reflect American standards and traditions," show their realization of the cross-cultural situation in regard to education, but they often fail to show it in regard to the economic aspects of the problem.

Again, it is interesting that, for the much-talked-of Taos county project, which was going to get at the fundamentals of problems besetting the Spanish-American population, all the authors are able to praise explicitly is the "Bookmobile"! The "Bookmobile" is a traveling library on a truck which supplies much badly-needed reading material. A very worthwhile venture it is, particularly if the people were not so undernourished that they are unable to do a full day's work, much less absorb reading matter as well.

Then, finally, toward the end, the authors make a statement that should have been introduced earlier: "The right of Indians and Spanish-Americans to retain their cultural differences within the context of their American citizenship, presents challenges of tolerance, understanding, and responsibility to the dominant group which it cannot escape by merely calling for the cultural liquidation of the other two groups." This expresses an American ideal of democracy that is bound to influence work in the area. However, it is not the only influence at work, as can be seen from the following statement, also taken from the book under review: "The charge is made that state school revenues are inequitably distributed and that counties with overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking populations are discriminated against most severely. A study of the distribution of school funds for 1938-39 under the 1935 Equalization Law, indicates that thirteen of the state's thirty-one counties received less than their legal shares. Six of these counties . . . were located in the Middle Valley and were under-credited with a total of \$294,864.74. Significantly all of the under-credited counties had the full tax rate levied, but fourteen of the eighteen over-credited counties had a reduced tax rate. . . . The equalization law rests upon the basic American principle that the financial status of a child's community should not con-

dition his right to an education, and the failure to apply the law justly in the Middle Valley and in other counties has obvious significance."

SCUDDER MEKEEL

*Rosenwald Foundation
Chicago*

Our Towns: A Close-Up. Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare in Cooperation with the National Council of Social Service. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. xx + 143. \$1.50.

This is not a pretty book. It is about children and adults who inhabit the snaggle-tooth districts of English cities—people who are frequently dirty, verminous, diseased, delinquent, and addicted to practices that grate on the sensibilities of "nice folks" residing on the other side of town.

When the war began in September, 1939, the British government immediately put into effect a plan to evacuate from the more populous areas large numbers of women and children. Accordingly, more than a million children and 175,000 mothers were sent to the country, where they were quartered in the homes of English village and farm folk. But so unhappy were many of the hosts, so shocked were they at the appearance and habits of their guests, that a great outcry was raised against the visitors. It is not hard to imagine the reactions of well-disciplined middle-class families to the presence, in their households, of enuretic children, of children with heavy infestations of lice, of children whose personal habits were more suitable for the pigsty than for tidy homes.

This book is in defense of these much-maligned children and mothers. The writers assembled a considerable amount of data to indicate that slum denizens are victims of social circumstances, and that the conditions which produce such people are themselves amenable to improvement. Furthermore, specific recommendations are offered for institutional changes which, if put into effect, would go far toward eliminating both blighted areas and blighted personalities. Neither the data nor the recommendations are particularly new to students of social problems in this country. Nevertheless, it is a significant attempt to bring before the intelligent public a frank discussion of cause-and-effect relationships and to secure some measures of social action that will alleviate such disgraceful conditions.

If England (or America, for that matter) cannot provide a decent way of life for *all* the

people, then a military victory in the present war becomes a mockery.

NOEL P. GIST

University of Missouri

Group Differences in Urban Fertility. By CLYDE V. KISER. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 284. \$2.50.

This important and interesting book is based on data gathered in the National Health Survey, conducted in 1935-36 by the United States Public Health Service and the Work Projects Administration. Except for the censuses of 1940 and 1910, the Survey provides the only body of data which is representative of a large part of the Nation's urban population and which permits an analysis of fertility differentials by classifying individuals and families according to various economic and social characteristics.

The analysis of the fertility of wives classified by usual occupation of head of family (using four classes) indicates a tendency toward a smaller and less marked inverse relationship than formerly. For native whites, Kiser points out "the apparent emergence of an exception to the traditional inverse association between occupational status and marital fertility. The distinction of lowest average rate of marital fertility appears to have passed from the professional to the business group." Because "Clerks, Salesmen, and Kindred Workers" probably composed between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the "business" group used by Kiser, and because this sub-group may have substantially lower marital fertility than the other sub-groups, it seems unfortunate to the reviewer that this sub-group was not analyzed separately, and the "Business" group made more homogeneous by restricting it to "Wholesale and Retail Dealers," and "Other Proprietors, Managers, and Officials." As it is, the "Business" group is weighted much more heavily than the "Professional" group by low-paid white collar workers, which may be the chief reason for the fertility differential to which Kiser calls attention.

Education of wife (using four classes) is shown to be inversely associated with fertility in a majority of the regional size of city groups. In the Pacific states, however, if the small class "under 7th grade" is disregarded, one group shows a direct, two a U-shaped, and one a negligible association.

The relationship between family income (using six classes) and marital fertility is shown to be inverse in most of the regional size of city groups, though frequently the fertility of the

top income class exceeds that of the class just below it. In two groups the relationship is decidedly U-shaped. As Kiser points out, the necessity of using the Survey concept of family income may introduce a bias, for the proportion of secondary families appears directly related to family income, and secondary families probably are less fertile than primary families.

Of special interest is the analysis of the relation of marital fertility of native whites to usual occupation of head of family, education of wife, and family income, cross-classified by each other. Marital fertility in 1935 appears more closely related to family income in that year than to the other two characteristics, perhaps because it, too, is a sensitive index relating specifically to a single year, whereas schooling usually stops during the teens, and occupation of family heads (within broad classes) is relatively stable. In the income groups above \$1,000 the customary inverse relation between fertility and occupation is not apparent, probably being obscured by variations in the proportion of wives working, and by the secondary family low fertility bias mentioned above. Kiser concludes that the use of husband's income is far preferable to that of family income in studying fertility differentials.

General fertility is shown to be more closely related than marital fertility to the socio-economic factors under consideration, for the reason that the former is affected by the proportion of women married at each age, which in turn is related to the socio-economic factors. The analysis shows that if the observed 1935 age-specific birth rates continued, the lowest socio-economic group would maintain its numbers but the highest would increase at the rate of 50 percent in a generation.

Data for three rural areas show marital fertility rates to vary directly with rurality; to be higher among farm laborers than farm tenants, and higher among the latter than among owners; and to follow their familiar order among the business, skilled, and unskilled classes.

As Kiser points out in Chapter II, birth rates for most groups of white persons based on the Survey data are from three to ten percent below those based on registered births, which in turn are known to be somewhat incomplete. For Negroes, the omissions are larger. A rough allowance for these deficiencies can be made in comparing the fertility of various areas. Although little is known about the matter, the reporting or registering of births probably is more complete for the upper socio-economic groups under discussion than for the lower. For

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this reason, some of the smaller differences in fertility between socio-economic groups may be more apparent than real.

As Kiser indicates, the analysis of pregnancy wastage is severely handicapped by the failure of the enumerators (or respondents) to report data for $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the wastages which occurred. Until more is known about the relation between the completeness of reporting wastage, and the socio-economic factors studied, the data regarding differential wastage seems to the reviewer to be of questionable value.

Until the more detailed analysis of fertility based on the 1940 Census is published, this book will be extremely useful, because it furnishes the latest information available on the subjects discussed. Later it should be valuable in connection with the census analysis in showing trends from 1935 to 1940. The charts and tables are excellent. There are a bibliography and an index.

P. K. WHELPTON

*Scripps Foundation for Research
in Population Problems*

Formirovaniye Promishlennogo Proletariata v Rossii: statistiko-ekonomicheskie ocherki (Formation of the Industrial Proletariat in Russia: Statistical-Economic Essays). By A. G. RASHINE. Moscow: Government Social-Economic Publishing House, 1940. Pp. 462. \$1.75.

This volume, which the author hopes will initiate a series of more thorough and detailed studies, is a statistical study of certain aspects of labor problems in pre-Revolutionary Russia. It is not a general survey or cultural history of the labor movement, as its title and preface might indicate. Rashine has given us a limited and pedestrian study of one important segment of Russian social and economic history from the late eighteenth century to the revolution of 1917. He presents and discusses the statistics concerning the growth in the number of industrial workers, the gradual change from bonded to free labor, the distribution of workers in different industries, the migration to the industrial centers, the composition of industrial labor in terms of age and sex, and the educational level reached by the workers in Tsarist Russia.

For sources Rashine has used official government statistics, the records of factory inspection, and a large number of monographs on particular areas or industries. He is especially careful in pointing out gaps in the source material, the difficulties in bringing together and compar-

ing statistics collected under varying procedures, and cautious in presenting his conclusions. Thus the volume is by no means dogmatic or propagandistic. So far as the reviewer is aware, much of this material is brought together and digested into meaningful form for the first time.

Few, if any, original interpretations of the figures are offered by the author himself, although there are numerous quotations from other Russian economic historians, such as Tugan-Baranovsky, adduced to throw light on the data collected by the writer. Thus the rôle of the introduction of machinery in producing a shift from the employment of bonded to free labor after 1830 is covered by the author himself in two sentences (p. 25). However, on page 94 there is a much longer excerpt taken verbatim from the official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union explaining the shift as due to the capitalists' needs for educated workers to handle the complex machines. The absence of interpretation is especially striking in connection with the depression of 1900-09, as several pages are devoted to describing its effect in various areas and industries (unemployment, shortening of working hours, diminution of migration to urban areas, etc.), while no effort is made to explain the background and causes of the depression.

While the basic "Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist" doctrine is set out in the beginning, and there are numerous quotations from Lenin's writings, the book as a whole is no more doctrinaire than the less original writings of any school of economics or sociology. The author lays considerable stress on geographic variations in the development of industry, and the different conditions to be found in various industries. Except for the general references to Marxist-Leninist theory, he avoids single sweeping generalizations.

From the point of view of the sociologist, the greatest weakness of the book is the nearly total absence of cultural data: i.e., descriptions of the incipient labor institutions such as the embryo trade unions that grew up in the late Tsarist period, the efforts of the government to control these for its own purposes, the reforms of the last two decades of the Imperial regime, etc. Maver's two volumes remain a much more useful and accessible source for this type of information.

The value of this work to sociologists is contained in its presentation of fairly precise data on the trends in the development of an urban industrial population, together with much information of a quantitative sort on its remaining

ties with agriculture. Thus it is chiefly of interest to comparative students of population and of the labor movement. Despite its defects, the volume is one that students in these fields will be unable to ignore.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Washington, D.C.

The Population of Bristol. (Occasional Papers, II, National Institute of Economic and Social Research.) By H. A. SHANNON and E. GREBENIK. Cambridge University Press, 1943. Pp. 92.

This publication represents an excellent and rather detailed study of a number of different aspects of the population of the city of Bristol, England (population 415,000), some of the studies covering additional territory to make up what is termed the "Bristol Urban Cluster" (total population 452,000). Following a brief study of the growth of the Bristol area from 1801 to date, including the annexation of extensive areas, there is a careful study of migration into the area based in part on figures showing the number of parliamentary electors, but more extensively on the changes in residence indicated by the registrations of workers for unemployment insurance. On the basis of these latter figures the migrants are classified not only by geographic origin, but also by industry and by age and sex.

Following the sections on migration are chapters presenting data on various population phenomena which might be considered as leading up to estimates of future population growth. These include mortality, with a life table for Bristol city, reproduction rates, differential fertility rates, age and sex distributions, and finally, actual estimates of population for 60 years into the future.

LEON E. TRUESDELL

Bureau of the Census, Washington

Messiahs: Their Rôle in Civilization. By WALLIS D. WALLIS. Washington: American Council of Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 217. \$3.00.

The drama of world religions unfolds around a central theme: undying human desires seeking fulfilment in a satisfying life. In a frustrated present, hope has always pointed beyond the horizon to a better tomorrow. The persistent failure of man to build the culture that could provide adequate material and social values made the fortune of the gods. These friendly figures of the early world, magnified by human hopes, assumed cosmic proportions as guarantors

of the good life. The supernatural realm became the source of values. As accredited representatives of this divine world, the messiahs were mediators and heralds of a new and better age.

Wallis lights up the pathos of man's age-long frustration in social relations by this detailed list of men who have assumed the messianic rôle—century after century in all parts of the world. Judaism, Christianity and Islam provide the largest number of messiahs, probably because the idea was firmly fixed in Judaism, the mother religion, at the time of her national tragedy. Shinto, with its ever-present god in the divine emperor, and naturalistic Confucianism, did not establish the messianic type. Messiahs are of varied nature—the divinely anointed initiator of a new era, the returning savior, the Moslem *mahdi*, the returning god or culture hero, the avatar of a high god. The long list is imposing, yet it might have been further extended by the inclusion of more historic and legendary figures from Hinduism and Buddhism. The lay reader will wonder why Jesus does not rate a place in the record as an important embodiment of the messianic hope. Messiahs are distress signals; they make no appeal to prosperous eras. "A social need, a prevalent messianic concept, and a responsive individual have been the usual preconditions to messianic manifestations." The messianic type varies with time and place. Each culture has provided the historic mold to which messiahs must conform. Yet there has been much interaction of cultures, and many messiahs, ancient and modern, have been products of syncretism.

The messiahs promised salvation, claimed supernatural sanction, demanded sacrifice of their followers, and failed to find the way to the promised land. As anxiously as our ancestors of the era of supernaturalism we grope through social distress and maladjustment seeking salvation. But we are not likely to follow messiahs cast in the ancient mold. Will a new messianic type emerge, the man of vision, master of practical techniques, who can challenge us to faith, labor, and sacrifice in the building of the better world?

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

University of Chicago

The Social Message of Jesus. By IGINO GIORDANI. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1943. Pp. xi + 406. \$4.00.

There have been a great many attempts to discover the significance of Jesus' teachings for

the social situation of his time. Some writers have held that he is best understood as a symbol of national protest or as a proletarian leader who used religious weapons to fight a secular battle. There can be no doubt that some of his followers believed (or hoped) that Jesus could help them to win their heaven on earth. Other writers, reacting against this interpretation, have defended the theory, implicit in the doctrines of many churches, that Jesus' teachings are to be understood in purely apocalyptic terms, with scant significance for the political and economic struggles of the time.

Giordani, in *The Social Message of Jesus*, is among those who are able to reconcile this apparent contradiction by a thorough understanding of the rôle of an important religious leader. The social teachings of Jesus were neither secular in their meaning nor "purely religious," but were both, at one and the same time. Jesus interpreted life monistically, so that every doctrine was thought to have meaning for the whole of life. To be sure, he made very few direct references to existing economic, social and political institutions and practices; but his teaching was full of implicit challenges to their validity. (How and why these challenges are so often ineffective is, of course, another story.)

The main questions that arise from the book are: What are the *implications* of Jesus' teachings for the relations of men to each other? And what *effects* have they had on human interaction? These are two distinct questions, which, however, the author does not always sharply separate. It is one thing to trace out the *possible* effects of Jesus' doctrine, for example, of the unity of all men, the elimination of barriers of class, race, and culture; it is another thing to study the effects (and lack of effectiveness) of this doctrine. Persons less thoroughly religious—who therefore interpret life dualistically—find it easy to say that this unity describes a religious situation and has no reference to secular problems. For the most part Giordani does not explicitly raise the question of how effectively Jesus' teachings are translated into action in the life of the average Christian.

The author shows (with justice, it seems to the present reviewer) the basically revolutionary implications of "the new law." He is thoroughly aware of the similarities between Christian teachings and others of the time—Judaism and Stoicism, to mention two of the most obvious. At the same time, however, he emphasizes the uniqueness of the Christian synthesis and the far greater importance given to such doctrines

as the basic unity of mankind and the need for charity as well as for justice. We need not raise here the fundamental question of the source of these new elements in Christianity. Giordani would doubtless give an important place to supernatural factors; a materialist would say that they are secular weapons under religious guise. We do need to note again, however, that to show the revolutionary implications of "the social message of Jesus" is not to prove its revolutionary consequences.

In part this is a study of "what Jesus really meant," and becomes a defense of Catholic doctrine. The book is full of Catholic and supernatural premises which the sociologist may not necessarily share. The argument often follows the line of the classical "comparative" method, with consequent difficulties. The author describes, for instance, what he considers to be Jesus' doctrine of labor—the lifting of labor to a place of far greater importance and esteem than in the teachings and practices of the ancient society—and then he proves his interpretation by giving several examples. Yet other examples, as he himself notes, can prove a different interpretation: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow."

The total weight of Giordani's argument, that one cannot lightly dismiss Jesus' teachings as having no relevance for social problems, seems well justified. But one must beware assuming from this, without careful research, that those teachings led directly, by the power of the religious idea, to different human relations. Perhaps Giordani's related studies, *The Social Message of the Apostles* and *The Social Message of the Early Fathers of the Church*, will throw light on this important question.

J. MILTON YINGER

Ohio Wesleyan University

A Prophet and a Pilgrim: Being the Incredible History of Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant; Their Sexual Mysticism and Utopian Communities Amply Documented to Confound the Skeptic. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER and GEORGE LAWTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 589. \$5.00.

Thomas Lake Harris (1823-1906) was the prophet and leader of one of the many half-forgotten bands of religious mystics who tried to construct their own Heavens on earth during the last century. The most prominent of his hundred-odd converts were the British cosmopolite, writer, member of Parliament, and later

Zionist Laurence Oliphant (1829-88) and his mother. But for the notoriety provided by the presence of the eminent Oliphants, Harris' "Brotherhood of the New Life" might have been entirely forgotten; his "sexual mysticism" and doctrine of spiritual counterparts were not particularly original but were characteristic features in some way or another of many such communities. Harris gave them a new twist here and there, and managed besides to make a modest financial success of the colony's wine business; this was the almost unique thing about the Brotherhood. At its height there were only about one hundred members, one-half women, two-thirds adults. An exotic feature was the presence at one time of about twenty Japanese.

Harris began his religious career in his twenties as a Universalist minister, and a few years later became involved in a short-lived Spiritualist colony in Virginia. During the next few years he espoused "Christian Spiritualism" and became leader of a spiritualistically inclined group of Swedenborgians. In 1857 came the crisis that led to his break with Swedenborgianism, for in this year "... the Lord chose to reveal the inmost Celestial Sense of the Word through Harris, thus making him a pivot on which revolved not only the hopes of mankind's regeneration but also, consequently, the bitterest attacks from the hells" (p. 22). In 1861, while in England, Harris announced the founding of the Brotherhood of the New Life, to be a universal non-sectarian society with socialistic features. The first home of the new colony was in Dutchess County, New York, and after the membership increased to about thirty-five persons and the fortune of the Oliphants was added to its capital the group moved in 1867 to Brocton on the shores of Lake Erie near Buffalo. In 1875 the headquarters of the colony was moved to "Fountain Grove" near Santa Rosa, California, where Harris and most of the faithful resided until shortly before his death. The "Use," as it was called, was a middle-class Bohemia; none of its members was poverty-stricken or uneducated.

The Harris theology, elaborated continually by means of a profuse outpouring of letters, newspapers, books, and pamphlets, had several distinctive features, among which were the doctrines of the "fays," fairies or spiritual germs that flitted about everywhere, of "open breathing," whereby the presence of the spirit in one's body was made known, and of celestial counterparts, wherein it was believed that each person has somewhere a celestial counterpart of the

opposite sex. This counterpart was seldom the person's present, earthly spouse. Harris himself lived in celibacy with his three successive earthly wives except the first, by whom he got three terrestrial children before he founded the Brotherhood; his celestial counterpart was Queen Lily of Lilistan, whom he constantly communed with and who bore him two children in the celestial sphere. Asceticism and celibacy were recommended until the coming of the future life, when the benefits of the self-denial would be enjoyed. The conventional accusations of sexual laxity were made against the Brotherhood but the authors believe them unjustified, except possibly against the later apostate Oliphant's tiny colony in Haifa. The accusations included rumors of the use in Brocton and Fountain Grove of an esoteric ritual for seeking spiritual counterparts in other natural bodies of the opposite sex. Such a ritual was discussed in the literature of the sect, but, as usual, the spiritual requirements were set so high that "... to all intents and purposes the ceremony (if practiced at all) would be limited to the leader and the few partners he selected" (p. 183).

Other criticisms of the communities by their enemies were motivated by the separation of husbands and wives, the physical ordeals required by Harris of new converts and penitents, and the Spartan treatment of the children. The Brotherhood exhibited a common fault of such groups in that there was among its practices little if any adequate provision for insuring the continuing loyalty of the younger members: "Most of them left the Brotherhood and afterward regarded their childhood as having been intensely unhappy, though they were reluctant to talk of it" (p. 218). Harris' refusal to send the children to public school did not sufficiently exclude the influence of the wider culture, which intruded in many ordinary ways.

Regarding the book itself, the authors claim only that they have written a history; this they seem to have done adequately. Happily they avoided a common fault of many historians of minor sects, that of including a mass of affidavits and testimonials from the friends and enemies of the sect. The many documents included were carefully selected, but even careful selection among the sectarians' extravagant and esoteric verbiage could not avoid leaving some pretty heavy going to the reader, as the authors themselves point out (p. xviii). Instead of letting the documents speak for themselves—as they usually did—one could wish that Schneider and

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Lawton had spoken more. The sub-title of the book is somewhat unfortunate, inasmuch as it leads the reader to anticipate that the history of Harris is more racy than it turns out to be. Neither Harris nor Oliphant is incredible after Joseph Smith, James J. Strang, and others.

J. E. HULETT, JR.

University of Illinois

Lamps of Anthropology. By JOHN MURPHY. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1943. Publications of the University of Manchester. No. CCLXXXI. Pp. ix + 179.

This is a book in the field of comparative religion. It is a collection of essays, many of which are reprinted from published articles and addresses. For this reason the book is repetitious in places and not well-knit in structure.

Although the author modifies the work of many of the older theorists, he acknowledges his dependence upon them. He mentions specifically his use of Max Müller, Frazer, Tylor, Lévy-Bruhl, and Herbert Spencer. None of these men were in any sense field men, nor had any except Tylor had first-hand acquaintance with "primitive man." One suspects that the author is in the same category, because his thinking is along similar lines. He is primarily interested in the origins of religion.

His approach is an evolutionary one. He postulates four stages for the development of religion. The first is the *Primitive Horizon*, characterized by a "belief in power-life-will in mysterious things" and called by the author the Mana type religion. Java and Peking man are ascribed to this horizon, as well as a few simple hunting and collecting peoples surviving today. This stage is specifically linked to the biological stage of brain growth of these early men. The *Tribal Horizon* is identified by animism which was once thought to be the oldest form of religion. The author considers this to be an advance in intelligence over the primitive stage, although he speaks of "semi-instinctive action in obedience to tribal authority." The *Civilized Horizon* includes the ancient civilizations and their religions. The people in each of these stages have a qualitatively different mind, partly dependent on their evolutionary stage of brain growth. The civilized mind is characterized by "capacity for conceptual thought and for abstraction, the power of ethical judgment, and a new individuality, escaped from the solidarity of the tribe and the bondage of custom into freedom for initiative and originality both in thought and action." The final stage is the *Prophetic Horizon*

which includes the leaders of religious thought that blossomed forth in many countries in the Old World in the thousand years before the beginning of the present era.

It is a little surprising to see this type of approach appear in a new book and in the face of the anthropological criticism and field work of the last twenty years. Any theory that embraces a set series of evolutionary stages for culture has been fairly well disposed of. While an attempted projection back to the earliest forms of religious thought in the human race may be fun as an exercise, there can be little validity to such a procedure. To back it by comparison with contemporary nonliterate peoples who have had as long a cultural history as ourselves is not science. To try to relate such evolutionary changes in religious thought partly to growth in various brain centers is futile and fallacious. Also the book is full of ethnocentrism, valuations based on our own culture, and the implicit nineteenth century notion of "progress." There are a few errors, as, for example, assigning Neanderthal man to the Magdalenian caves in Europe. Although the book is quite disappointing, at least to American anthropologists, this will come as no surprise to the author, who anticipated such reactions in the introduction to the present book.

SCUDDER MEKEEL

University of Wisconsin

Inter-American Affairs—1942. By ARTHUR P. WHITAKER and Others. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. vi + 252. \$3.00.

This is the second volume of an annual survey of *Inter-American Affairs*. Written by Arthur P. Whitaker and eight competent collaborators, the work has already established itself as a "must" for anyone who is seriously interested in keeping abreast of recent developments in the Inter-American field.

In accord with the plan adopted in the first volume, the following topics are discussed: "Politics and Diplomacy," "Industry, Commerce, and Finance," "Cultural Relations," "Social Welfare in Latin America," "Labor Legislation in Latin America," "The Inter-American Health and Sanitation Program: Activities of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs," "Inter-American Technical Cooperation," and "Summary and Prospect."

The usefulness of the book is greatly increased by maps, charts, and statistical tables. There are maps which present interesting data on "Latin America and the War," "Ecuador-Peru Boundary

Settlement, January 29, 1942," and "The World of Sailing Ships and the World of Air Power." A most informative chart deals with "Latin American Trade with the United States." And, a wealth of valuable factual material is packed into nineteen statistical tables on "Area and Population," "Production and Income," "Finance and Investment," and "International Trade." Not the least important item in the book is Raymond Dixon's compilation of "Inter-American Chronology for 1942."

Three improvements are to be noted in this second edition. Much more adequate recognition of Canada is accorded in two articles dealing with the political and economic aspects of Canada's part in the Inter-American system. Public Health, Social Welfare, and Labor, topics which were lumped together and treated by one contributor in the first volume, are more efficiently disposed of by such eminent authorities as George C. Dunnam, Katherine E. Lenroot, and Eugene D. Owen. Finally, Kenneth Holland's contribution on "Inter-American Technical Cooperation" is a new and decidedly valuable addition.

Such a book cannot be reviewed in any proper sense of the word since there is little, if any, controversial material in it. It is a pleasure, however, to recommend the volume to those who are interested in easy access to factual materials, and to express the hope that the reception accorded it will permit the publication of "Annual Survey: No. 3."

REX D. HOPPER

The University of Texas

Inter-American Statistical Yearbook, 1942. By RAÚL C. MIGONE, Director, MARCELO F. ABERASTURY, Subdirector, EMILIO FURENTE and JORGE E. ITURRAPSE. Under the auspices of the Argentine Commission of High International Studies. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. 1066. \$10.00.

The *Inter-American Statistical Yearbooks*, of which this is the second, were planned to meet two primary needs of American students: first, a convenient one-volume compilation of the major statistical data available for the Americas; and second, a statistical compendium in the languages of the Americas—Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The first edition was merely a compilation of materials from international yearbooks, but the delays of a war period forced the editors to turn to general yearbooks and yearbooks of foreign commerce

for many sections of the second edition. The result was a fifty percent increase in the number of tables, as well as an increase in their extensiveness, and a somewhat nearer approach to currency of data.

The 438 tables of the second edition are divided among the various subjects as follows: Population, 24; production, 65; industries, 46; commerce, 160; social questions, 38; currency, banks and investments, 39; public finance, 26; public education, 8; army, navy and air corps, 10; public health, 17; and international co-operation, 5. In each table, data presumably are given for all the major American countries for which they are available, with European, Asiatic, and African statistics for selected countries or cities included for comparative purposes.

It is quite easy to criticize any hemispheric work on the basis either of quantitative adequacy or of qualitative selection. The discussion which follows is limited to the population section, which is the one of greatest interest to sociologists. The initial reaction, based on a critical evaluation of selected tables, is necessarily negative. Specifically, Table 8, Births and Deaths, includes rates for British Guiana but not for French Guiana. The goal of inclusiveness would include both, while presumably qualitative criteria would bar both. Crude birth and death rates are not included for the Dominican Republic, but Table 12 gives quinquennial death rates by sex, 1937-40, while Table 17 gives births by age of mother, 1936-39. Or, again, Table 21 on expectation of life, gives for Brazil the values of the Carvalho tables for 14 cities adjusted by Mortara, but omits the values for twenty states of Mexico from the Bustamente tables. The editors were faced with a fundamental choice of criteria for inclusion in their tables; either they could include all data published regardless of accuracy, or they could set up qualitative standards for inclusion. Actually, neither alternative was chosen. The evaluation of all data would have been an impossible undertaking with the facilities available to them. Inclusiveness also proved impossible of achievement. A close inspection of the bibliography of sources used indicates that the editors did not find it possible to utilize all the demographic data published by each country or administrative unit in the Americas.

The editors of the yearbooks realized the difficulties of the undertaking and the approximate nature of their success in achieving their goal of a complete and accurate compilation. Migone stresses the fact that data on Latin

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America are widely scattered and are usually inadequate. The basic need in most fields of American statistics is neither compilation nor research; rather, it is more and better source data for a greater number of countries. Perhaps the compilation of yearbooks and the international comparisons of data facilitated by them will itself act as an additional stimulant to the present rapid improvement of statistical organizations and statistical techniques in the Americas. Until these improvements actually materialize, however, the careful student of the social statistics of the Americas has no alternative other than the location of the original source materials and a painstaking evaluation of the validity of the data for each country and even part of a country in which he is interested.

The next volume of the *Inter-American Statistical Yearbook* will be issued under the auspices of the Inter-American Statistical Institute. The Committee consists of Raúl Migone, Chairman, with Carlos E. Dieulefait, Argentina; M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, Brazil; Robert H. Coats, Canada; Ramón Beteta, Mexico; and Stuart A. Rice, United States. Representatives of the International Labor Office, the League of Nations, and the Pan-American Union will co-operate in the planning and preparation of the new yearbook.

IRENE B. TAEUBER

Office of Population Research
Princeton University

Sociology: Principles and Problems. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. New York: American Book Company, 1943. Pp. viii + 408. \$1.80.

The approach and material in this revision are essentially the same as the earlier editions of the author's introductory text. New census data, new references, and a chapter on rural society are the major changes. Social problems in relation to primary groups are stressed and little space is devoted to principles. The development and problems of the family receive major attention.

The first chapter on the definition and delineation of sociology is well done except for the author's claim that any attempt to exclude ethical implications and judgments from sociological discussion is futile (p. 14). This position is evident throughout the book. The author's ethical preference is particularly evident in his discussion of the family, where it sometimes overrules scientific data.

The book is well written, has a glossary and good study aids, but the absence of pictures,

charts, and other visual aids decreases its effectiveness for beginning students.

WILBUR BROOKOVER

Indiana State Teachers College

A Short History of Civilization. By HENRY S. LUCAS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943. Pp. ix + 994. \$4.50.

This attractive and well-printed volume is another in the ever-mounting production of textbooks for the course on the history of civilization in colleges and universities.

About fifty pages are given to the preliterate period, a hundred each to the Oriental period and the civilization of Greece and Rome, over two hundred and fifty to the medieval age, nearly two hundred to modern times before the nineteenth century, and nearly two hundred and fifty to the period since 1800.

Some will feel that the allotment of space to medieval history is relatively too generous and that emphasis might well have been shifted to more ample coverage of the modern and contemporary eras.

One novel and commendable item in the book is a good summary of the civilizations of India and China, not only in the ancient period but also in the medieval age.

The book is especially strong on intellectual history, the history of science and technology, and the development of literature and the arts. In short, it is true to its title of a history of civilization. But there is ample political history to satisfy the needs of a course in European civilization.

The attitude of the author is enlightened and liberal, and the style is clear, simple, and straight-forward. The book should present no great difficulties to the undergraduate student of history.

All in all, it is an excellent textbook, perhaps the best in one volume for those who actually wish to teach a course in the history of civilization in fact as well as in name. Those who want the civilization to appear only on the cover and title page of the book will be disappointed.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, N.Y.

Toward Community Understanding. By GORDON W. BLACKWELL. Prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education. Washington: American Council on Education, 1943. Pp. viii + 98. Paper bound. \$.75.

Not, perhaps—as implied in A.C.E. *President's Annual Report, 1941-42*—a study pro-

viding "exact information to evaluate teacher education in community understanding," but rather a very useful summary description of selected courses, off-campus experiences, social-action clubs and programs, and "unusual emphases" found in 16 higher institutions engaged in a "more or less articulate drive toward making education for citizenship meaningful."

For purposes of analysis and presentation community understanding is conceived as a trilogy: (1) a body of facts about community structure and behavior; (2) techniques essential to democratic group living; and (3) alert attitudes leading to a sense of social responsibility.

The report is primarily an east-of-the-Mississippi affair. In its too-few pages, it is not always evident that "growth" of students has occurred, that emotions have been "aroused" and "atti-

tudes modified," or that "development" has been "gratifying" or "in the fullest sense." For this reason social scientists will appreciate the 8-point criteria for appraising experiments in community understanding. They may well profit, also, by the caveat that a successful program requires local community backing as well as sympathy within the sponsoring institution.

The author, a sociologist, has not yet been contaminated by the jargon of professional pedagogy. "Citizenship" and "co-operation" are employed with commendable restraint. "Democracy," praise God, appears only twice; "democratic," five times. An index on page 100, the only blank, would increase the utility of the findings.

WALTER T. WATSON

Southern Methodist University

BOOKNOTES

Research on Early Man in Burma. By HELLMUT DE TERRA and HALLAM L. MOVIOUS. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (new series), Vol. XXXII, Pt. 3 (1943). \$3.00.

This excellent monograph is a significant contribution to the history of the evolution of culture, since Burma lies between the three anthropologically important areas of India, China, and Java, and the authors view their findings in the light of these wider relationships. In Part I, "The Pleistocene of Burma," de Terra (with the aid of Teilhard de Chardin) has made a tentative geological chronology for all four regions; such a chronology is the necessary basis for any study of the early development of man and his culture.

Part II, "The Stone Age of Burma," is by Movious, and describes the prehistoric cultures of the region, the earliest of which is Middle Pleistocene. The Burmese paleolithic is called Anyathian, and is characterized by choppers and scrapers; core and flake tools are absent. Its importance lies in the fact that it ties together

the paleolithic of India, China, Malaya, and Java, and the cultures of all these areas belong to an Asiatic paleolithic distinct from that of Europe.

De Terra's supplement, "Pleistocene Geology and Early Man in Java," is a summary of the most recent knowledge on the geology of Java in relation to the fossil hominids and their artefacts.

In all, this work is a "must" for anyone interested in the evolution of man and his culture.

The Influence of the Jews upon Civilization. By JACOB GARTENHAUS. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943. Pp. 82.

This little book presents for the layman an abridged but readable discussion of the contributions made by Jews to such varied fields as the fine arts, science, literature, philosophy, and finance, and appends an interesting list of famous Christian Jews. The Christian-Jewish author correctly states that nothing original is included.

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